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ABSTRACT

As part of its responsibility to advise the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights concerning civil rights problems within the State, the Minnesota Advisory Committee submitted this report of its 6-month study on urban American Indians in the Twin Cities. During its investigation, which culminated in open hearings in January 1974, the Advisory Committee examined the responsiveness of Twin Cities institutions to Native Americans in the areas of employment, education, administration of justice, and health care. Interviews were conducted with citizens of the Indian community; local, State, and Federal officials; educators; officials from private agencies; and other resource persons. The Advisory Committee found that Native Americans were afflicted with much of the cultural, social, and economic damage felt by other minority groups. Their situation was complicated by the Federal Government's failure to honor treaty obligations and statutory responsibilities. Among its other findings were: (1) Indian-oriented programs which have had a beneficial impact on the administration of justice, especially the Legal Rights Center, Inc. and the St. Paul American Indian Movement (AIM) patrol, ran the risk of discontinued funding; (2) the dropout rate for Native American students was significantly higher than for students of other races; and (3) at all levels of government employment, Indians held the lower paying positions. (NQ)

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BRIDGING THE GAP:
THE TWIN CITIES
NATIVE AMERICAN COMMUNITY

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January 1975

RC008540

BRIDGING THE GAP:

THE TWIN CITIES NATIVE AMERICAN COMMUNITY

A report prepared by the Minnesota Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights

ATTRIBUTION:

The findings and recommendations contained in this report are those of the Minnesota Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, and as such, are not attributable to the Commission.

This report has been prepared by the State Advisory Committee for submission to the Commission, and will be considered by the Commission in formulating its recommendations to the President and the Congress.

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

MINNESOTA ADVISORY COMMITTEE TO
THE U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
January 1975

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Sirs and Madam:

The Minnesota Advisory Committee submits this report of its study on urban Indians in the Twin Cities as part of its responsibility to advise the Commission concerning civil rights problems within the State.

During our 6-month investigation, which culminated in open hearings in January 1974, we examined the responsiveness of Twin Cities institutions to Native Americans in the areas of employment, education, administration of justice, and health care.

The hostility traditionally shown toward Native Americans by white society intensifies when Indians leave the reservation and come to the city. Here, they face a cultural shock--they cannot easily adapt to this new society without abandoning their culture. Because of their desire to retain their own culture and because the dominant society has made little attempt to respond to their cultural needs, they are hard-pressed to "bridge the gap" between reservation and metropolis.

In the Twin Cities, the situation is not totally bleak. The Advisory Committee found evidence of some government agencies and private organizations addressing themselves to needs of Native Americans. These included the Minneapolis Public Schools, Hennepin County General Hospital, and the Minnesota State Authority on Alcohol and Drug Abuse, among others. This report, however, also points out the embryonic character of their actions.

The Advisory Committee is making recommendations to local, State, and Federal officials and to private hospitals. These recommendations include the establishment of a close relationship between the public schools and alternative and supplementary education programs, and between the Indian Health Board and private hospitals.

We urge you to concur with our recommendations and to assist this Advisory Committee in follow-up activities.

Respectfully,

/s/

CECIL E. NEWMAN
Acting Chairperson

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Final edit and review was conducted in the Commission's Office of Field Operations, Washington, D.C., by editor Bonnie Mathews, assisted by Rudella Vinson and Mary Frances Newman, under the direction of Charles A. Ericksen, chief editor. Preparation of all State Advisory Committee reports is supervised by Isaiah T. Creswell, Jr., Assistant Staff Director for Field Operations.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

> The token Indian programs reach only a portion of the Indian community and leave large gaps in the delivery of services. Minneapolis can't say the American Indian Center is the only one to deal with, or the American Indian Movement is the only one to deal with. They are going to have to recognize that there are different views within the Indian community also. (p. 96)[1]
>
> Pat Ballenger
> American Indian Movement

> You are looking at a million people [nationwide] widely dispersed and not in any one community with populations that are unmanageable...In any case we have a set of problems that...really could be dealt with if local, county, State, private sector, [and the] Federal Government would lend their resources to do just that. (pp. 42-43)
>
> Lee Cook, Director
> Minnesota Indian Resource
> Development, Inc.

---

[1] Page numbers in parentheses cited hereafter in the text refer to statements made to the Minnesota Advisory Committee at its open meeting, Jan. 25-26, 1974, as recorded in the transcript of that meeting.

These statements by two Native Americans[2] living in Minneapolis and St. Paul capsulize two general themes that emerged from a 6-month investigation of living conditions in the Indian communities in the Twin Cities: the Indian community is heterogeneous and it is small enough so that its problems are manageable, given a positive response from government institutions.

On January 25-26, 1974, the Minnesota Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights held an open meeting in Minneapolis to culminate that investigation, which included interviews with citizens of the Indian community; local, State, and Federal officials; educators; officials from private agencies; and other resource persons.

The Advisory Committee found that Native Americans are afflicted with much of the cultural, social, and economic damage felt by other minority groups. Their situation is complicated by the failure of the Federal Government to honor treaty obligations and statutory responsibilities. Indians living in the Twin Cities have a double set of objectives--the demand to be taken seriously as individuals and as members of a unique culture, and the determination to make government and social institutions accountable and open. These best characterize the findings of this report.

The Advisory Committee focused upon various programs concerning education, employment, health care, and administration of justice--programs and services either totally or partially directed to needs of Native American people. The Advisory Committee's decision to undertake a programmatic study was largely stimulated by a consistent reaction from Indian people interviewed during preliminary field investigations. They stated that programs working to assist Indian people were too often token attempts characterized by inadequate, inconsistent financial support with little involvement of Indians. They also said that program services are not fully effective because they too frequently are

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2. The Commission prefers to use "Native American" to refer to persons of this background. "Indian," however, is used extensively in this report because it is the term used by this cultural group in the Twin Cities to identify itself. Since this report is regional in scope, Indian is an appropriate term.

operated by non-Indians insufficiently sensitive to Indian culture. They indicated, however, that some progress toward greater involvement of Indians in planning and delivering services to urban Indians has occurred. In most cases, this involvement came only after considerable struggle and negotiations with white authorities.

This report attempts to reflect the views of Indians about the problems they encounter in the Twin Cities. It also includes the views of public officials responsible for providing services. It is one of several reports issued by Advisory Committees to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in the past 2 years concerning the status of Native Americans. The Minnesota Advisory Committee decided to direct its attention to concerns of urban Indians because of the heavily urbanized Indian population in the State. Two recent hearings by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights have dealt with civil rights issues pertaining primarily to reservation Indians located in the southwest United States.

This first attempt to deal with an urban Indian community is not exhaustive. The Native American urban community is largely a first generation group. Social service programs have in many cases not yet adjusted to its cultural differences. Data keeping is frequently faulty, resulting in unfortunate gaps in this report's analysis. Documentation does not always have the solid foundation people are accustomed to finding when studying more traditional urban subsystems. Some agencies are still insensitive to the changing character of the central cities which contain the bulk of their clientele.

The Advisory Committee feels this report represents an effort to provide the young, growing, Indian community with an opportunity to express itself. Far from being a final statement, the report should be viewed as an opening conversation in a dialogue that will result in a fuller and more enriching culture for all who live in the Twin Cities. To achieve this, more concentrated studies will be needed; so will a continuing interest in these matters by all segments of the community.

A. Legal and Political Status of Indians

The legal and political status of Indian tribes--the relationship of Indians to their tribes and to their States, and the relationship of tribes to the States and to the United States Government--have long been issues of controversy. Tribes have traditionally been viewed by Federal courts as dependent or "tributary" nations possessing limited sovereignty and requiring Federal protection.[3] Congress has viewed tribes either as sovereign political entities or as anachronisms incompatible with society at large. The net result has been the development of two conflicting Federal policies--separation and assimilation. The first has tended to isolate Indians by supporting their continued concentration on or near reservations where their customs and institutions have been preserved. The second is designed to bring Indians into the mainstream of American life by terminating all special relationships and programs.

During the Eisenhower administration the government's termination policy reached its height. After more than a decade of antitermination struggles by Indians, the policy has been reversed. In a message to Congress July 13, 1970, President Richard Nixon renounced termination and said:

> It is long past time that the Indian policies of the Federal Government begin to recognize and build upon the capacities and insights of the Indian people. Both as a matter of justice and as a matter of enlightened social policy, we must begin to act on the basis of what the Indians themselves have long been telling us. The time has come to break decisively with the past and to create the conditions for a new era in which Indian future is determined by Indian acts and decisions....

The President also recommended that Indians control and operate the Federal Indian program, that there be Indian school boards, and that Indians control Federal funds going to schools serving Indian children. His recommendation to end termination was incorporated into House Concurrent Resolution 108.

---

3. See Worcester v. Georgia, 31 U.S. 350 (1832).

Although many Indians acquired citizenship prior to 1924, Federal statutes generally held that the 14th Amendment provision conferring citizenship on "all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof" did not apply to Indians.[4] By virtue of the Indian Citizenship Act, June 2, 1924, however, all Native Americans born in the United States are citizens. They are also citizens of the States in which they live, even though they may reside on a reservation.[5] State citizenship, Federal citizenship, and tribal membership are not incompatible.[6] As citizens of the United States, Indians are subject to Federal laws no matter where they live. On reservations, they are also subject to the civil and criminal laws of the tribe. In certain instances, Congress has provided that the criminal and civil laws of a State shall extend to Indians living on reservations in the State.[7]

On reservation, Indians are protected by the Civil Rights Act of 1968, Title II[8] (the Indian Bill of Rights) which provides that Indian tribes exercising powers of self-government shall be subject to many of the same limitations and restraints imposed on Federal, State, and local governments by the Constitution. There are two major exceptions: the right to counsel before tribal courts need be provided only at the defendant's "own expense;" and, although religious freedom is protected, there is no prohibition against the establishment of religion by a tribal government.

Off the reservation, as a general rule, Indians are entitled to the same Federal and State benefits, programs, and services as other citizens. Before State or Federal courts they are entitled to the same constitutional protections as other defendants. They may hold Federal, State, and local office, be drafted, sue and be sued in State courts, enter into contracts, and own property. The large number of Federal and State laws and provisions which in the past denied Indians political rights and public benefits have either been repealed, ruled invalid by the courts, or unenforced.

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[4] Smith v. United States, 151 U.S. 50, (1894).

[5] Acosta v. San Diego County, 126 Cal. App. 2d 455, 272 P. 21-92, Deere v. New York, (D.C. N.Y.) 22F.2d 851 (1927).

[6] Halbert v. United States, 283 U.S. 753, (1931).

[7] 28 U.S.C. 1301.

[8] Public Law 90-284; 25 U.S.C. 1301, et. seg.

B. Historical and Demographic Profile of Minnesota's Indian Population

The majority of Minnesota's Native Americans are members of the Chippewa and Sioux Nations, but several other tribes, including the Oneidas and Winnebagos, are also represented.[9]

When white settlers first reached Minnesota, it was occupied by members of the Sioux (Dakota) Nation. The Sioux were divided into seven tribes: Teton, Yankton, Yanktonai, Wahpeton, Sisseton, Mdewakanton, and Wahpekute. By the mid-1700's the first three tribes had moved westward, and the remaining four, known collectively as the Santee (eastern Sioux), had settled in Minnesota.[10]

Minnesota Chippewa Indians are part of the larger Chippewa Nation dispersed throughout Ontario (Canada), Wisconsin, and Minnesota. Their original home is thought to have been along the shores of the St. Lawrence River (New York State) and the eastern Great Lakes. However, European settlers forced Indian migration westward, and by the beginning of the 18th century several bands settled in what is present-day northern Minnesota.[11]

In 1805 Captain Zebulon Pike signed a treaty with the Sioux. Under the treaty, the Sioux ceded land for a fort and trading post. Fort Snelling, located at the confluence of the Mississippi and Minnesota Rivers, began operations in 1820.[12]

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[9] Minnesota Indian Affairs Commission, "Indians of Minnesota."

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid.

[12] League of Women Voters of Minnesota, Indians in Minnesota, St. Paul: North Central Publishing Company, 1971, p. 11.

Tribal leaders, Indian agents, and U.S. Government representatives apportioned Minnesota while attending a "grand conference" at Prairie du Chien, Wis., in 1825. A horizontal line divided the Sioux and Chippewa lands--north of the line was Chippewa territory, south was Sioux territory.[13] Figure 1.1 indicates this demarcation. The present location of reservations still reflects this division.

By 1830 pioneers had settled around Fort Snelling and began pressuring Indians for land. In 1837 the Sioux sold their claim to all lands east of the Mississippi.[14] Once Minnesota became a territory in 1849, pressures for Indian land intensified. In 1851, by the treaties of Traverse des Sioux and Mendota, the Sioux relinquished all their Minnesota and South Dakota land and received two reservations along the Minnesota River. They were also promised farm equipment, education, and annuities.[15] In 1858 the Sioux were forced to give up their reservation north of the river.

Sioux frustration with this loss of land manifested itself in the Sioux Uprising of 1862. In a few weeks 1,400 persons--whites and Indians--were dead. As a result of the uprising, all treaties with the Sioux were abrogated. Except for some Mdewakanton who aided the whites during the fighting, all Sioux were exiled from Minnesota. Those considered friendly were eventually given land, and some exiles returned. Additional land was purchased for the Sioux in 1886, which is the basis for the present-day Sioux communities.[16]

Beginning in 1854, treaties were signed with the Chippewa confining them to reservations.

One purpose of the General Allotment Act of 1887 was to "civilize" the Indian. In reality, it was an excuse for whites to confiscate Indian land and to weaken Indian social organizations. Under the act, all Indians living on a reservation received an allotment of land. Any reservation land remaining after allotments was taken from the tribe.[17]

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13. Minnesota Indian Affairs Commission, "Indians of Minnesota".

14. Ibid.

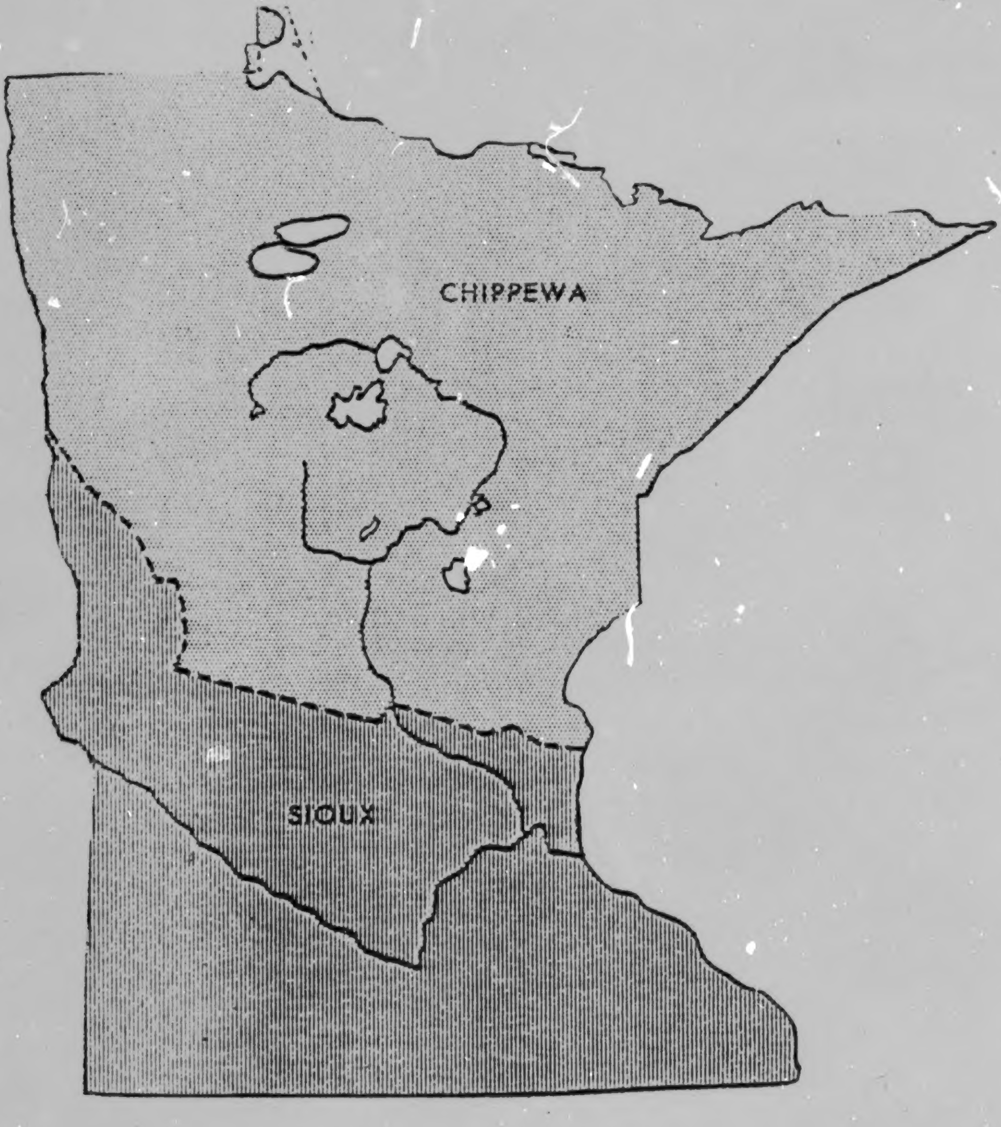
15. League of Women Voters of Minnesota, Indians in Minnesota, pp. 11-12.

16. Ibid., p. 12.

17. Ibid., pp. 12-14.

Figure 1.1

Results of "Grand Conference" at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin--1825



Source: Minnesota Indian Affairs Commission, "The Minnesota Indian."

The Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), passed by Congress in 1934, ended the practice of land allotments. Under the act, $2 million was to be used to purchase Indian lands which would be held in trust. All unsold reservation lands were to be returned to their tribe.[18]

Currently, Minnesota ranks 10th among States with the largest Native American populations.[19] According to census figures, during the 1960's Minnesota's Indian population increased 49 percent--from 15,496 in 1960 to 23,128 in 1970.[20] This latter figure represented 0.6 percent of the State's population.

These figures are considered to be sizeable undercounts of the Indian people. The Minnesota Indian Affairs Commission, which estimates the 1973 Indian population in Minnesota to be 35,000 or 0.9 percent of the State's population, has reported:

> Even though a differential may exist in statistical information it has been officially challenged as being inaccurate based on voluntary declaration. Further implication is made on the basis of the lack of Indian census takers in obtaining the information both in sight and confidence achievement in the compilation of data.[21]

Native Americans in Minnesota reside either on reservations or in urban centers. There are six open Chippewa reservations,

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18. Ibid., p. 7.

19. U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States--1972, (93rd Annual Edition), table 32, p. 29.

20. State of Minnesota, Indian Affairs Commission, report to Gov. Wendell R. Anderson and the Minnesota Legislature, 1973.

21. Ibid.

one closed Chippewa reservation,[22] and four Sioux reservations. Figure 1.2 indicates their location.

The Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, consisting of the six open reservations, maintains its tribal offices in the Federal Building in Bemidji, Minn. A tribal executive committee, consisting of the chairperson and secretary-treasurers of all the open reservations, governs the tribe. Approximately 700 Indians live on the Fond Du Lac Reservation, 15 miles west of Duluth, and another 250 Chippewa live on the Grand Portage Reservation, about 150 miles northeast of Duluth. There are 680 Chippewa on the Bois Forte (Nett Lake) Reservation, approximately 40 miles south of the Canadian border. Nearly 2,500 Chippewa live on the Leech Lake Reservation in north central Minnesota, another 800 live on the Mille Lacs Reservation in the east central part of the State, and approximately 2,100 live on the White Earth Reservation, 60 miles west of Bemidji. Red Lake Reservation is not part of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, but is owned by the Red Lake Band of Chippewa Indians. It has the largest population of any State reservation, 5,500 persons.

The largest of the southern Minnesota Sioux communities is the Lower Sioux Reservation. Located about 2 miles south of Morton, it contains 150 persons. Prairie Island Reservation with 86 residents is 14 miles northwest of Red Wing, and the Upper Sioux Reservation is 2 miles south of Granite Falls. Approximately 70 members reside on the latter. Only 10 families live on the Prior Lake Reservation located inside the triangle formed by Shakopee, Savage, and Prior Lakes.[23]

During the late 1920's, the U.S. Department of the Interior hired Lewis Meriam and a staff from the Institute of Government Research to survey Indian conditions. The survey reported an estimated 800 Indians then living in Minnesota's three major urban areas--Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth.[24]

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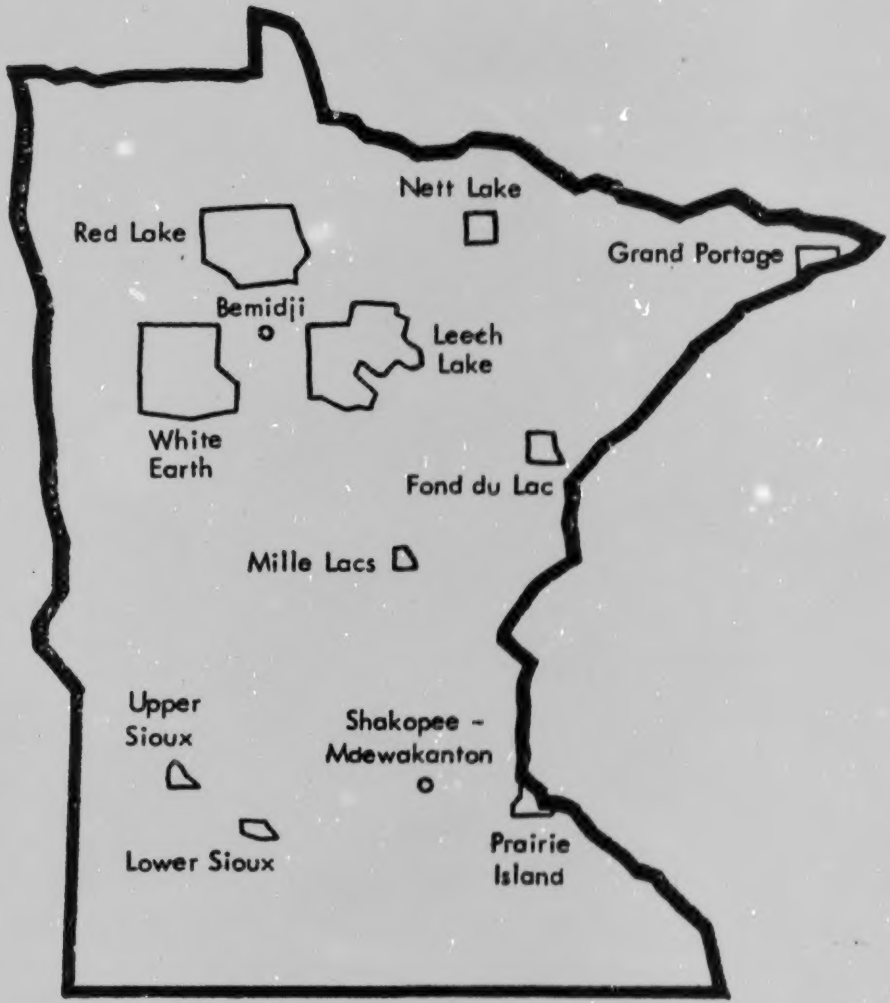
22. The Red Lake Chippewa Reservation is the only closed reservation in the State. As such, it maintains its own police force and court system, not depending on the United State Government for these services.

23. Minnesota Indian Affairs Commission, "The Minnesota Indian," pp. 3-8.

24. League of Women Voters, Indians in Minnesota, pp. 7, 39.

Figure 1.2

Minnesota's Indian Reservations


Nett Lake
Red Lake
Grand Portage
Bemidji
Leech Lake
White Earth
Fond du Lac
Mille Lacs
Upper Sioux
Shakopee - Mdewakanton
Lower Sioux
Prairie Island

Source: Minnesota Indian Affairs Commission, "The Minnesota Indian."

According to 1970 census figures, Minneapolis' Indian population was 5,829, while St. Paul's was 1,906. Combined, that represented 0.5 percent of the metropolitan area's population. The Minnesota Indian Affairs Commission, however, has questioned these figures and in 1973 estimated that there were 6,500 Indians in Minneapolis and 4,300 in St. Paul.[25] Estimates by Indian groups place the metropolitan population between 12,000 and 15,000.

---

[25] Minnesota Indian Affairs Commission, report to the Governor and the State legislature, 1973.

CHAPTER II

EMPLOYMENT

> This is the first generation of Indians to really experience city living and city problems. This is the first generation of Indians to be faced with the challenges of community involvement and participation. This is the first generation of Indians to really feel the pressures of trying to work within the [urban] system....(p. 9)
>
> Mayor Albert Hofstede of Minneapolis

Mayor Hofstede's observations were echoed by other participants at the Advisory Committee's open meeting in January 1974. The Twin Cities' Indian community is young and it is growing. In 1960, 21 percent of the State's Indian population lived in the Minneapolis/St. Paul area; by 1970 that percentage had more than doubled with 43 percent of Minnesota's Native Americans living in the Twin Cities.[26] If the trend has persisted, it may well be that today an absolute majority of the State's Indian population lives in these cities.

Indians interviewed during this investigation, including Harold C. Childers, employment assistance officer of the Minneapolis Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), emphasized that this migration has been propelled largely by economic conditions on or near the reservations. The life style of the Indian culture, more attuned to the natural flow of things, is still preferred by Indians, but the comparative affluence of the dominant culture has had the inexorable effect of drawing increasingly more Indians to the Twin Cities in search of better-paying jobs.

---

[26] Minneapolis, Minn., Indian Health Board, "Progress Report," selected demographic data.

Official State unemployment rate figures for Indians could not be obtained by the Advisory Committee. In response to a Commission staff inquiry in August 1974, R. Pinola, director of Research and Planning for the Minnesota Department of Employment Services, wrote Commission staff that, "We do not have data on American Indian unemployment rates or registrations for unemployment compensation." George Baptiste, research assistant for the Minnesota Indian Affairs Commission, estimated in a telephone interview on July 29, 1974, that about 50 percent of the Native American population in the Twin Cities is unemployed.

Statistics collected by Commission staff from a variety of sources indicate that employment rates for Indians are generally low. They are presented in Table 2.1, page 15.

A. Cultural Conflicts and Economic Pressures

Moving to a large urban area such as the Twin Cities often requires drastic readjustments for an Indian. On the reservation the only government is a tribal government, the only agency is a Federal one, and the major employer is the Federal Government. The metropolis, by contrast, is a competitive jungle. The myriad of governmental services--city, county, special district, State, and Federal--are confusing and sometimes contradictory. Many agencies are understaffed, overburdened, and inadequately publicized. The employment structure is considerably more specialized than it was a generation ago. This point is frequently missed by non-Indians who consider themselves "self-made" individuals. The demand for unskilled labor has diminished considerably since 1950. A recent inmigrant, regardless of race or sex, has a difficult time finding employment. The unskilled jobs that are available pay considerably less than they previously did in comparison with skilled trades and professional jobs. Unionization and technological growth have doubtless affected the increased disparity in pay.

Table 2.1

Native American Employment in Minnesota

Employer	Total Employees All Races	Total Native American Employees	Percentage of Native American Employees
Federal Agencies[1] (Minnesota)	26,843	255	0.9%
State Agencies[2]	34,305	156	0.4%
Hennepin County[3]	5,484	22	0.4%
City Agencies [4] (Minneapolis*)	4,636	32	0.7%
Private Sector[5] ** (Minneapolis/St. Paul SMSA)	383,904	1,465	0.4%

* No comparable figures for St. Paul.
**Businesses employing over 100 employees.

Sources:
1) U.S., Civil Service Commission, Minority Group Employment in the Federal Government, SM 70-72B, Nov. 30, 1973, Table 3-027.
2) Governor Wendell R. Anderson, "Affirmative Action Minority Survey Report," April 1973.
3) "Summary of Hennepin County Labor Force by Sex and Race," November 1973.
4) Louis Ervin, director, affirmative action programs, Minneapolis.
5) 1972 EEO-1 Report Summary--Minneapolis/St. Paul SMSA.

Native Americans seeking work in the Twin Cities face many problems common to all newcomers--finding the way to job openings, obtaining requisite skills, and learning "the rules of the game." Others are faced by all minorities--stereotyping by employers and the difficulty of retaining their cultural identity in an alien environment. Still others are encountered only by Native Americans: for example, the disparity between life on the reservation and in the city.

Lee Cook, director of Minnesota Indian Resource Development, Inc., a private agency specializing in employment assistance for Indians, has been director of Indian education and special consultant on Indian affairs to the superintendent of schools in Minneapolis, and has worked for several Federal agencies. Mr. Cook commented at length to the Advisory Committee about the problems of conflicting cultures:

> It is difficult to become competitive and aggressive...under 150 years of administrative practice and procedure of a governmental agency [Department of the Interior] that has not provided for leadership, for Indian self-determination, nor for Indian ownership of any part of this community, least of all its means of production and its economy. (p. 24)
>
> I used to keep a sack of black socks in my desk at the employment center. In trying to find employment for the kids [recent Indian high school graduates] I'd say, 'Look, you know most personnel people you run into are funny kinds of people. They expect certain kinds of people to come through the door, and if you are noticeably Indian, you wear white socks, you don't shake hands, you are dead before you say hello.' And that kind of attitude on the part of personnel people, the lack of knowledge of that kind of attitude on the part of our community is just one of the many, many inhibitors that prevent employment of Indian people. (p. 20)

Mr. Cook said the amount of red tape and paperwork (e.g., educational background, arrest record, years living at same address, etc.) demanded for even a low-skill job discourages Native American applicants: "No matter whether you are applying for washing dishes or an engineer's job, the requirements in the application seem to be the same." Most industry in the heart of Minneapolis, he said, has not been accessible to the Indian community. He described the Honeywell Company as "the only industry over the years that I know which has made really a major effort to try to employ Indians." He said that some other employers who would like to help do not know how to start, and some do not want to start. (pp. 19, 33)

The fact that most job openings are in the suburban periphery makes placements difficult, according to Eva Taylor, employment counselor for the Minnesota Department of Employment Services. She cited transportation problems as major. "The jobs are in the suburbs, and they don't have a car. If I have an applicant with a car, I have no problem placing that person," she said. (p. 212)

Conflicting cultural values continue to present obstacles in hiring and job retention. Employers are reluctant to hire persons they believe are prone to absenteeism or are not properly appreciative of the benefits of full-time employment. Lee Cook pinpoints the problem from the perspective not only of Indians but of an increasing number of American workers:

> The consumptive mentality that we find ourselves coping with in urban American has much to do with a lack of interest in employment. It is difficult to get people keyed up to live for a job, to consume.... (pp. 23-24)

B. Job Training and Placement Efforts

Workers coming to a metropolitan area face a web of confusion if they do not have a solid offer waiting. Whether they need further training to become job-ready or the identification of a suitable job, there are a number of agencies that can be contacted. Chief among these is the State employment agency, the Minnesota Department of Employment Services. There are also organizations which focus on the employment needs of minorities, including the National Alliance of Businessmen, Concentrated Employment Program, Manpower Development Training, Jobs Optional, and the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce.

Unlike other arrivals to the Twin Cities, Indians from the reservations and rural areas of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and the Dakotas have greatest familiarity with the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). It is logical, therefore, that they contact the BIA first when seeking assistance in the Twin Cities.

The BIA Area Office in Minneapolis, which administers a four-state region consisting of Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, provides adult vocational training (AVT) and direct employment (DE). Training is contracted with 29 vocational schools in the Twin Cities, and courses range from 4 weeks (nurse's aide) to 3 years (registered nurse). Ironworking is one of the higher paid vocations offered. Once training is completed, the trainee is eligible for job placement. (See Table 2.2). The BIA provides sustenance between job placement and the first paycheck.

Table 2.2

Bureau of Indian Affairs, Indian Permanent Job Placements--Twin Cities--1973

	Number of Applicants	Number of Job Placements		Hourly Wage Average	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Adult Vocational Training	477*	37	30	$3.32	$2.49
Ironworkers	58	56	--	$5.94	--
Direct Employment	182	151	13	$3.57	$2.37
Total	717**	244	43	$3.40	$2.45

* This includes 325 new entries and 152 carryovers from fiscal year 1972. During fiscal year 1973, 179 applicants were transferred to other offices.

**None of these applicants are urban Indians.

Source: Bureau of Indian Affairs, Minneapolis Area Office.

According to the BIA, vocational trainee job placements for the entire four-state area were down 10 percent from the previous fiscal year, although the number of Indians completing training had increased by 4 percent. The Area Office said FY 1973 was "a year of learning, and much credit should be given to our agencies for the level of services given to our trainees."[27]

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[27] U.S., Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Minneapolis Area Office, Annual Report, fiscal year 1973, p. 14.

Despite these employment assistance programs, a complaint of Twin Cities Indians was that BIA assistance was either slow or non-existent. The BIA's Harold Childers told the Advisory Committee that the basic role of the Area Office is to provide technical assistance and guidance to BIA offices located on the reservations. "In reality," he said, "there is very little that the Bureau of Indian Affairs area office function has to do with urban Indians." (p. 217) (The lone exception is the higher education scholarship available to the urban Indian through the BIA's education office.) Mr, Childers estimated that in fiscal year 1973, "better than 1,000 people from the urban area dropped into this office." (p. 226)

The crux of the problem lies in determining who is eligible for BIA resources. Applicants for the adult vocational training program (PL 959) must have at least one-fourth Indian blood, be living on or near a reservation, have an interest in vocational training, and an ability to achieve the training objective. (p. 238) The interpretation of "on or near" is subject to the administration of the agency operating the program, according to Mr. Childers, who said he had seen many different interpretations. (p. 232) Indians who apply for BIA employment assistance at their reservation before coming to the Twin Cities are likely to receive full assistance. Those who have settled with some degree of permanency in Minneapolis or St. Paul will probably not be eligible for BIA aid. In the vast majority of cases, however, the issue is not clearcut. Many do not make arrangements with the BIA before leaving the reservation area but intend to return to the reservation and thus should be eligible.

BIA's denial of services to urban Indians has been challenged in the courts. The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that the language of the Snyder Act of 1921 (the enabling legislation for the BIA) indicates that "Congress intended general assistance benefits to be available to all Indians." (Morton v. Ruiz, 462 F. 2d 818 1972) The Supreme Court affirmed the decision. While it refrained from deciding explicitly whether Congress intended all Indians to receive benefits, the Supreme Court noted that "neither the language of the Snyder Act nor that of the Appropriations Act imposes any geographic limitation on the availability of general assistance benefits." (Morton v. Ruiz, 94 S. Ct. 1055 1974) Although the Court found for the plaintiff, the issue is not completely closed since the Court stated that "whether other persons qualify for general assistance will be left to cases that arise in the future."

While it has not officially provided direct services to urban Indians, in recent years the Minneapolis Area Office has encouraged its officials to act as "advocates" for that group. (p. 217) This means linking urban Indians with the community services available to all people.

Mr. Childers, describing the BIA's "plan of redirection," said that employment assistance funds, formerly allocated to area offices for distribution to agencies providing services to reservation Indians, are now allocated directly to the agencies. The new funding method is intended to give tribal governments greater decisionmaking power in the use of employment assistance funds. It also enables more training programs and job opportunities to be located on or near reservations, Mr. Childers said, and leads to more "projects which increase the tribe's revenue and afford many tribal people gainful employment and training."

However, as the BIA annual report for fiscal 1973 pointed out, this plan of redirection has served to further limit services to urban Indians:

> The utilization of other agencies was necessary since the Branch's new-direction policies reduced the number of office personnel which prohibited the full range of professional services that are needed...The ability to provide these services in urban areas is gradually diminishing with the reduction in staffing.
>
> The Minneapolis office continues to serve a large number of Indian people, both urban and rural. However, with the new direction, with money being controlled at the reservation level, more urban people in Minneapolis than ever before are being rejected for services. The Minneapolis office took 99 AVT and 54 DE applications. Of this number, 39 AVT and 21 DE applications were rejected for services mostly because of their urban status.

Mr. Childers confirmed that "in the agency's plan for redirection, more often than not, the reservation Indian's request for employment assistance services are given priority consideration; whereas, the recent arrival to the Twin Cities is given a lesser amount of consideration."

The BIA's stated intent is to make existing urban social services more accountable to the relatively young Twin Cities Indian community and in this way develop autonomy and self-sufficiency. Yet, the definition of eligibility confuses Indian people and erodes BIA's credibility in the Twin Cities.

Local Agencies

The Advisory Committee was told that approximately 22 Twin Cities' agencies provide general assistance for Native Americans, including employment assistance. Among the oldest and largest of the Indian-operated agencies directing its resources specifically to the Indian community is the Upper Midwest Indian Center. Granted a charter from the State of Minnesota in July 1961, the center was initially funded by donations, dues from members, and proceeds from social fund-raising activities. It received funds for a short time from the Office of Economic Opportunity. In July 1969 it was admitted to the United Fund of the Minneapolis area and now receives most of its financial aid from this source. As of August 1974 the center had 25 staff members.

According to Emily Peak, director of the center, "One of our concepts has been that Indian people relate better with other Indian people." Although the funding, particularly Federal funds, presents continual problems, Ms. Peak said, the center sponsors the Indian Guest House, an alcoholic rehabilitation center; a newcomer program offering temporary housing for Indian families new to the Twin Cities; a summer camp program; and employment assistance, among other activities. (pp. 71, 73).

The center's south branch has two Native Americans serving as employment counselors--Ron de Cardinale and Eva Taylor, an employee of the Minnesota Department of Employment Services who maintains an office at the center. Ms. Taylor told the Advisory Committee that much of her job consists of "just helping individuals become job-ready." This often involves a battery of services to help the transition from reservation to urban life. Often needs for housing, food, clothing, eye-glasses, or hearing aids must be taken care of before job referral can begin. Referrals to skill centers are hindered by long waiting lists--"by the time their names come up they can't be found because they are too mobile," Ms. Taylor said. (pp. 208, 210)

Ms. Taylor and Mr. de Cardinale enumerated the following problems:

1) Changing requirements for jobs--a welding job may demand skill at reading blueprints which the training course graduate does not possess.

2) Insufficient tools to begin a job.

3) Lack of transportation--many of the new jobs are in suburban areas inaccessible by public transportation.

4) Health problems, including chemical dependency and difficulties with vision or hearing.

5) Lack of educational credentials.

6) Disillusionment with the employment-seeking process in general.

According to Mr. de Cardinale, local employers in the private sector generally are "more than willing" to hire Native Americans. (p. 213) Often, he said, the above obstacles prevent them from fulfilling their affirmative action responsibilities.

The Advisory Committee's investigations, however, disclosed contrasting opinions about private sector efforts to date. (pp. 34, 408) Table 2.1 indicates that private employers in the Minneapolis/St. Paul SMSA employ Native Americans at a rate of 0.4 percent while low estimates place the Twin Cities Native American population at 0.5 percent.

The Advisory Committee was told many times during its investigation of the need for Indian "advocates" to help bridge the culture gap between Indian applicants and leaders of the white community, especially major employers and their personnel officers.

One agency that provides such an advocacy role is the Minnesota Indian Resource Development, Inc., founded in July 1973. According to its director, Lee Cook, the agency aims:

> ...to bring together the best resources of the non-Federal sector with the resources of the Indian community. An effort simply based on the premise that State, county, and city governments as well as private industry, foundations, and churches have a very nominal understanding of the Indian in this State and vice versa. The intent of the program is to initiate a mutually-co-operative and systematic effort on the part of the non-Federal resources and the Indian community to improve the socio-economic status of the Indian residents throughout the State of Minnesota.

The organization's accomplishments include securing $20,000 from the city of Duluth for the American Indian Fellowship Association and spearheading the establishment of the Native American Council on Alcohol and Drug Abuse.

C. Indian Employment in Minnesota and in the Twin Cities

The Advisory Committee found few sources that keep statistics on Indian employment and unemployment in the State or in the Twin Cities. R. Pinola, director of research and planning, Minnesota Department of Employment Services, wrote Commission staff in August 1974 that "there is a general paucity of data on unemployment by occupation and race for statewide and less than statewide labor markets."

Furthermore, the accuracy of the available data is questionable. The Minnesota Department of Employment Services said, in reference to statistics sent to the Advisory Committee, "The data was obtained from our ESARS [Employment Services Automated Reporting System] and is not considered to be very accurate. However, it is the only such data available to us." (See Table 2.3 on the following page)

From 1972 to 1974, the rate of Native American application for job assistance remained fairly constant with a slight increase: 1.6 percent of all applicants during fiscal year 1972,

Table 2.3

Minnesota Department of Employment Services
Statewide Employment Assistance

	Fiscal Year 1972		Fiscal Year 1973		Fiscal Year 1974	
	Total	Native American	Total	Native American	Total	Native American
Applicants	232,190	3,652	317,968	5,739	343,800	6,611
Placements	33,199	828	46,192	1,231	63,142	1,525
Active File (End of Fiscal Year)	154,645	2,947	149,164	3,554	103,118	2,599

Source: Minnesota Department of Employment Services.

1.8 percent during fiscal year 1973, and 1.9 percent during fiscal year 1974. For the same years, the rate of Native American job placement has been higher than for non-Indians, although the gap narrowed during fiscal year 1974. (See Table 2.4 below.) Job levels of placement are unavailable.

Table 2.4

Minnesota Department of Employment Services
Statewide Job Placement Rate

	Fiscal Year 1972	Fiscal Year 1973	Fiscal Year 1974
Indians	22.7%	21.4%	23.1%
Non-Indians	14.2%	14.4%	18.3%

Source: Compiled by the Central States Regional Office of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights based upon statistics supplied by the Minnesota Department of Employment Services.

Table 2.5 (see following page) indicates the Department of Employment Services' employment assistance statistics for the Twin Cities.

In the Twin Cities the rate of Native American applications for employment assistance has remained constant--2.2 percent of all applicants in fiscal year 1972, and 2.3 percent in 1973. The rates of Native American job placement for the 2 fiscal years were considerably higher than for non-Indian placement. (See Table 2.6 on following page.)

Statewide, the rate of Indian applications is well above even high estimates of the percentage of the State's population that is Indian. The same is true for the Twin Cities. Judging from the higher placement rate for Indian applicants than for non-Indians, the Department of Employment Services is not neglecting its Indian applicants. With estimates of Indian unemployment running as high as 50 percent for the State and for the Twin Cities, however, the need for attracting more Indians to the Department's services is imperative.

Table 2.5

Minnesota Department of Employment Services
Twin Cities Employment Assistance

	Fiscal Year 1972		Fiscal Year 1973		Fiscal Year 1974	
	Total	Native American	Total	Native American	Total	Native American
Applicants	98,330	2,158	149,254	3,498	167,084	INA
Placements	12,770	459	19,834	718	26,091	INA
Active File (End of Fiscal Year)	76,738	1,826	79,362	2,341	46,074	INA*

*Data keeping discontinued for fiscal year 1974.

Source: Minnesota Department of Employment Services

Table 2.6

Minnesota Department of Employment Services
Twin Cities Job Placement Rate

	Fiscal Year 1972	Fiscal Year 1973
Indians	21.3%	20.5%
Non-Indians	12.8%	13.1%

Source: Compiled by the Central States Regional Office of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights based upon statistics supplied by the Minnesota Department of Employment Services.

1. Federal Government Employment

According to Eugene Spika, area manager of the U.S. Civil Service Commission (CSC) in Minneapolis, as of January 1974 there were about 290 Native Americans among the 20,000 Federal employees in the State. This did not include Postal Service employees. Although this represents a 60 percent increase during the past 3 years, the majority of Federal jobs held by Indians are in the lower end of the pay scale. For example, Indians constituted 3.2 percent of the grades GS 1-4 (with annual starting salary of $5,017 to $7,198) but only 1.0 percent of the GS 14 or 15 grades ($24,247 and $28,263, respectively).[28] Virtually all of the minority employees, including Indians, reside in the Twin Cities area. (p. 192) Nationally the average grade level for Native American Federal employees was GS 5.6 compared to GS 8.4 for whites.[29] Comparable figures are unavailable for the State of Minnesota.

The primary responsibility of the Civil Service Commission is to qualify applicants under the merit system, based on open and competitive examination. The Area Office has a full-time staff of 16, plus 50 part-time examiners in approximately 25 cities around the State. None of the current Civil Service personnel, including examiners, is Native American. (p. 191)

Since 1972 the Civil Service Commission has been empowered to monitor the affirmative action efforts of all Federal agencies and other recipients of Federal funds, including State and local governments. To illustrate the Civil Service Commission's own commitment to affirmative action, Mr. Spika told of an incident in which an agency head was removed after his refusal to become involved in minority recruitment. Mr. Spika acknowledged: "Our problem today, frankly, has been a continuing gulf between the [Indian] candidates and ourselves." He said that closer cooperation with Indians and with Indian organizations is needed. Mr. Spika described efforts to recruit more Indians as "embryonic" and less successful than with other minorities. He said he looked for the BIA to serve as a "catalyst for the intake of Indian employment to all Federal agencies and even to private employment."(pp. 200-206)

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[28] U.S., Civil Service Commission, General Schedule of Salaries for Federal Employees.

[29] U.S., Civil Service Commission, Minority Group Employment in the Federal Government, Nov. 30, 1972, p. v.

2. State Government Employment

On July 28, 1972, Governor Wendell Anderson issued Executive Order No. 37[30] which stipulated in part:

> Each department of State government will prepare an Affirmative Action Program....
>
> Each department of State government will designate a staff member as Equal Opportunity Officer.....
>
> An Equal Opportunity Executive Committee will be established...composed of one representative each from the Governor's Office, the Department of Administration, the State Planning Agency, and the Department of Civil Service. It will be chaired by the Commissioner of Human Rights.
>
> A Director of Equal Opportunity will be appointed....

R. Nathaniel Scott was appointed the first State director of equal opportunity. He subsequently vacated the position and was succeeded by Julie Howard on August 8, 1974. In a written statement submitted January 25, 1974, to the Advisory Committee, Mr. Scott said the three most important steps that can be taken on behalf of workers involved:

1. Setting goals and timetables for minorities and women in affirmative action plans;
2. developing mechanisms for reviewing progress, and
3. instituting and operating objective personnel systems.

In a memorandum releasing the "Affirmative Action Minority Survey Report," April 2, 1973, Governor Anderson told department heads:

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[30] Executive Order No. 76, March 1, 1974, superseded Executive Order No. 37. It implemented the Governor's Code of Fair Practices, Sept. 1, 1973, and the State of Minnesota Affirmative Action Policy, Mar. 4, 1974.

> ...minorities are grossly underutilized, most often excluded in pay ranges which are commensurate with management and supervisory positions. There is little wonder, then, that minorities have a poor image of the State as an employer. The existing personnel system is not working for ethnics, women, handicapped persons, etc....

As of March 1, 1973, there were 34,305 State employees of whom 625 were minority employees, or 1.8 percent of the work force. Indian employees totaled 156, or 0.5 percent of all those employed. Among Indian employees, 95 held full-time classified positions, 21 full-time unclassified positions, 9 "other than full-time classified," and 31 "other than full-time unclassified." By April 1974 Native American employment increased 8.3 percent--or 13 persons--to 169.[31]

Of the approximately 165 units of State government, between 80 and 85 percent had no Indian employees. Table 2.7 on the following page examines Indian employment in the 20 largest State departments.

In the Corrections Department, 1.8 percent of the employees are Indian--a sharp contrast to the fact that 9.6 percent of inmate admissions to the adult penal institutions are Indian.[32] Similarly, in the Department of Health, which provides services to Indians, only 0.2 percent of staff are Native Americans.

According to statistics of the Governor's Affirmative Action Office, 35 or 40.7 percent of the 86 Native American men who are full-time State employees earn a yearly salary of $10,000 or over. Only 7 or 13.5 percent of the 52 Native American female full-time employees fall into this category.

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31. Julie Howard, director, State of Minnesota, Governor's Affirmative Action Office, to Melvin L. Jenkins, staff attorney, Central States Regional Office, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Aug. 16, 1974.

32. John Poupart and Billy Blackwell, "A Report on the First Annual Indian Corrections Conference," Minneapolis, Minn., Apr. 12-13, 1973.

Table 2.7

State of Minnesota

Full-Time Employees
Twenty Largest Departments, March 1, 1973

Department	Number of Full-Time Classified Employees	Number of Native American Full-Time Classified and Unclassified Employees
Public Welfare	6,569	26
Highways	5,150	7
State Colleges and Board	1,589	10
Corrections	1,479	26
Manpower Services	1,469	15
Natural Resources	1,150	15
Public Safety	970	3
Taxation	855	2
Administration	758	0
Education	703	36
Health	440	1
Junior Colleges and Board	368	*
Public Service	334	2
Agriculture	256	*
Labor and Industry	178	*
Pollution Control	138	*
Veterans Home and Board	07	*
Public Examiner	90	*
Commerce, Banking Division	74	*
Civil Service	66	1

*These departments hire 0-5 minority employees.

Chart compiled from statistics provided by Governor Wendell Anderson's office. Data provided for Native Americans (right column) included both classified and unclassified employees, whereas the number of total employees (left column) included classified employees only. Therefore, the actual percentage of Native American employees by department cannot be derived from this table.

The State's first report to the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, October 31, 1973, placed the total number of State employees at 33,900, a decrease of 405 from March 1973. At the same time minority employment increased by 10 from 625 to 635. In a news release on November 23, 1973, Mr. Scott said:

> On the surface the minority increase of 10 may not appear to be a substantial gain...but when it is realized that the increase is in excess of 50 minority employees terminated due to cuts in Federal grants, the strength of the State's affirmative action program is evident....

He cited the example of the Minnesota Department of Education which lost 53 positions, 37 of which were held by minority persons. The cuts occurred because of discontinued funding of a grant for an Indian adult basic education program.

Mr. Scott reported progress in eliminating many educational requirements unnecessary to the performance of certain jobs. He told the Advisory Committee that agencies had been asked to utilize training slots and to "begin training people into those jobs." The State director of equal opportunity elaborated by saying, "We place emphasis on demonstrated proficiency rather than irrelated educational requirements." (pp. 248-249) (See also Appendix A.)

Mr. Scott cited several examples of increasing Indian employment and recruitment in the State without goals and timetables. One example was the concentrated recruitment and training program of the Minnesota Department of Public Safety's Highway Patrol Unit to hire more Indians as patrolmen. The agency utilized the Urban Indian Center and all the State's Indian reservations in its recruitment efforts. He also noted a recent agreement negotiated with the Minnesota Department of Highways in which the department had hired "10 or 15 Indians" in the previous month and a half. (p. 252) Goals and timetables for hiring minorities and women were being developed in June 1974 by the State director of employment.[33]

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[33] Telephone interview, June 5, 1974.

3. Local Government Employment

Hennepin County as of November 1973 employed a total of 5,484 persons, 4,412 full-time and 1,072 part-time. The total of Native Americans was 23 or 0.4 percent of the work force.[34] (Figures relating to the employment of Indians at Hennepin County General Hospital are found in the chapter on health care.)

As of December 1973 the city of St. Paul employed a total of 2,875 persons--2,727 whites and 148 non-whites. Non-whites comprised 5.15 percent of the total work force. Figures given by Don Lewis of the St. Paul Department of Human Rights and Affirmative Action did not include a breakdown by minority groups.[35]

As of June 30, 1974, 4,636 persons worked for the city of Minneapolis. Of these, 178 were members of a minority group, 3.8 percent of the total. There were 32 Native American employees or 0.7 percent of the work force. (p. 259) While 28.8 percent of all full-time employees earned less than $10,000 annually, this was true for 43 percent of Native Americans and 41.6 percent of all minorities.

In May 1973 Lewis Ervin, Jr., was assigned to the Human Resources Division of the Minneapolis City Coordinator's Office as acting director of affirmative action programs to research, coordinate, and develop an affirmative action policy and program for Minneapolis. Asked by the Advisory Committee whether the city had developed an affirmative action program, Mr. Ervin answered: "Officially, I would have to respond 'no.' We are in the process now." Mr. Ervin admitted "...that problems do exist and that the city of Minneapolis has much to do to remedy the situation." (pp. 260,263) He suggested that:

> The future of an effective program lies in changing some of the procedures and practices which hampered the recruitment, hiring, and retention of Indians, other minorities, and women, including present recruitment and selection procedures. (p. 261)

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[34] Hennepin County, Affirmative Action Programs, "Summary of Hennepin County Labor Force by Sex and Race," November 1973.

[35] Telephone interview, June 10, 1974.

He also said that his office was considering changing job selection criteria, eliminating absolute veterans' preference, refining career ladders to assure upward mobility, and developing additional training programs. (p. 261)

In July 1973 the Minneapolis Civil Service Commission adopted a policy for "Equal Employment Opportunities - Affirmative Action." This is not the official policy of the city and will not become effective until such time as the city adopts an affirmative action program. In an interview with Commission staff, Thomas Utsunomiya, personnel director, Minneapolis Civil Service Commission, described steps initiated by his office to support eventual implementation of the city's affirmative action policies. The research department,he said, had been validating job tests[36] for three entrance level positions: clerical, firefighter, and foreman. High school completion was dropped as a requirement for the following five positions: clerk-typist, janitor, park keeper, forestry worker, and firefighter. He also said that the traditional college training requirement for entrance level professional jobs had been modified to consider equivalent experience. Mr. Utsunomiya stressed that the only way to insure minority representation in city employment is through more effective recruitment methods.

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[36] See Griggs v. Duke Power Co., 401 U.S. 424 (1971). In interpreting Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Court of Appeals ruled: "Nothing in the Act precludes the use of testing or measuring procedures; obviously they are useful. What Congress has forbidden is giving these devices and mechanisms controlling force unless they are demonstrably a reasonable measure of job performance."

CHAPTER III

EDUCATION

> Our educational attainment is not the highest in the world, least of all in this country and least of all in this community. (p. 22)
>
> ...the major difficulty...[is that] we find ourselves being novelties in classrooms only because everybody else systematically tries to forget their language, forget their culture, forget those things that were unique about them. (p. 30A)

Native Americans pay an exorbitant price to retain their distinctness. There is a high dropout rate among Indian students, and its magnitude was emphasized during preliminary interviews and at the Advisory Committee's open meeting. Indian parents said their children are exposed to a school environment that is alien and hostile and makes little attempt to develop their racial pride. They contended that Indian students are forced out of school by a combination of factors including: (1) teachers insensitive to them as individuals and as members of a unique culture, (2) peer group hostility, (3) school curricula emphasizing white middle-class values and ignoring the beauty of Indian culture, and (4) the paucity of Native American staff in the school system which denies students both access to the decisionmakers and to opportunities to enhance their self-concept.

The Advisory Committee examined the Minneapolis Public Schools, alternative and supplementary education programs for Indian children in the Twin Cities, and Federal programs affecting Indian education.

A. Minneapolis Public Schools

The Minneapolis Public Schools consist of 66 elementary schools, 15 junior high schools, 11 senior high schools, and 36 "other locations." These include hospitals, a skills training center, and a work opportunity center, among others.

Figures compiled by the school district as of October 16, 1973, showed a 58,833 student enrollment for the 1973-1974 school term. Of this, 10,428 or 17.7 percent were members of minority groups. The 2,545 Native American students, who were identified by a sight count, comprised 24.4 percent of the minority student population and 4.3 percent of all students.[37] Many Native Americans expressed concern that the sight count results in substantial undercounting of their people. This figure reflects a 50 percent increase in Native American student enrollment since the sight count of 1968.

Table 3.1 on the following page, which gives the distribution of students by school level, indicates a high attrition rate among Native American students. Whereas Native American students constituted 18.52 percent of pre-kindergarten students, they accounted for only 1.35 percent of 12th grade students.

The number of Native American students showed wide variance from school to school. For instance, 9 of the 66 elementary schools had Native American enrollment of at least 10 percent of the student body. Greeley Elementary School had a 38 percent Native American student population, Irving Elementary School, 26 percent, and Clinton Elementary School, 17 percent. An additional 22 schools had student populations that were at least 5 percent Native American. Of the junior high schools, Phillips had the largest concentration of Native American pupils--202 or 33.3 percent of the student body. Franklin Junior High School and Jordan Junior High School ranked second and third, respectively. Each had a student

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37. Minneapolis Public Schools, Special School District No. 1, Planning and Support Services, 1973-1974 Pupil-Personnel Sight Count, Oct. 16, 1973.

Table 3.1

Student Distribution By Grade Level-- Minneapolis Public Schools, October 16, 1973

Grade Level	Total Number of Students	Number of Native American Students	Percentage of Native American Students
Pre-Kindergarten	81	15	18.52%
Kindergarten AM	2452	126	5.14%
Kindergarten PM	1882	93	4.94%
1	3707	211	5.69%
2	3236	202	6.24%
3	3337	198	5.93%
4	3482	189	5.43%
5	3531	191	5.41%
6	3951	221	5.59%
Ungraded	2803	74	2.64%
Special	757	20	2.64%
TOTAL	29219	1540	5.27%
7	4228	201	4.75%
8	4361	176	4.04%
9	4686	169	3.61%
Ungraded	234	8	3.42%
Special	454	56	12.33%
TOTAL	13963	610	4.37%
10	5028	167	3.32%
11	4495	100	2.22%
12	4002	54	1.35%
Ungraded	447	16	3.58%
Special	573	13	2.27%
Adult	1106	45	4.07%
TOTAL	15651	395	2.52%
GRAND TOTAL	58833	2545	4.33%

Source: Minneapolis Public Schools, 1973-1974 Pupil-Personnel Sight Count population that was approximately 10 percent Native American. At the senior high school level, South High School's Native American student population was 10 percent, while North High School's was almost 6 percent.[38]

The number of Native American personnel employed by the school district did not reflect the percentage of Native American students enrolled. As of October 1973, 7,172 persons were employed in all job categories; 94 or 1.3 percent were Native American and 64 held classified positions. (p. 139) By November 1974, this figure had risen to 98, of whom 70 held classified positions. Of the 3,200 teachers employed as of January 1974, 15 or 0.5 percent were Native American. Only 2 were elementary school teachers, although 60.5 percent of all Native American students enrolled were in the elementary schools. Dr. John B. Davis, Jr., superintendent of schools, told the Advisory Committee that there were 12 Native American school administrators; 2 were assistant high school principals.[39]

1. Native American Student Dropout Rate

The American Institutes for Research in 1973 reported that the dropout rate in Minneapolis Public Schools was low compared with school systems across the Nation. It was estimated that 85 percent of all children entering the ninth grade in Minneapolis Public Schools would eventually graduate.

According to the 1970-71 sight count, however, there were 159 (3.2 percent) Native American students in the 9th grade, and 54 (1.4 percent) when this class reached the 12th grade (1973-74 sight count). School district figures for 1974 showed 60 Native American high school graduates. Therefore, approximately 34.0 percent to 37.7 percent of Indian children entering the ninth grade in the Minneapolis Public Schools will graduate. According to Harlan Anderson, administrative assistant to the superintendent of schools, various community and school people estimate the dropout rate to be between 60 percent and 80 percent.[40]

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[38] Ibid.

[39] Minneapolis Public Schools, 1973-1974 Pupil-Personnel Sight Count.

[40] Harlan Anderson letter, Aug. 1, 1974. Commission files.

The American Institutes for Research also pointed out that Native Americans constituted 20 percent of the students at Phillips Junior High School and 50 percent of the school dropouts.[41] In a February 27, 1973, report to the board of education Dr. Davis cited data collected by the League of Women Voters which showed only 10 Indians graduated from Minneapolis public high schools in the 1966-67 school term. By the 1971-1972 school term this number had increased to 34.[42] Dr. Davis said, "These figures reflect improvement but in no way suggest that we are satisfied with accomplishment for Indian students."[43]

To try to stem the high Indian dropout rate, the Minneapolis Public Schools initiated the Student Support program during the 1971-72 school term. Authorized by the Office of Education of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (DHEW) under Title VIII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), the program's funding was originally extended through 1977. Because it was based upon a provision of the ESEA that has since expired, it will terminate after the 1974-75 school term. (p. 147) Its allocation for fiscal year 1974 was $540,131.[44] Harlan Anderson told Commission staff:

> Minneapolis Public Schools estimates a budget deficit for 1974-75. It is evident that programs and services currently funded with local dollars will have to be terminated or cut back. In that context, it is extremely unlikely that the Title VIII program will be funded by the district.[45]

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[41] American Institutes for Research, "Title VIII, Student Support Program, Minneapolis Public Schools, Evaluation Report, 1972-73," July 1973, p. 9.

[42] From 1966-67 to 1973-74 the Indian school population increased threefold.

[43] Dr. John B. Davis, Jr., "A Report to the Board of Education," Feb. 27, 1973.

[44] Minneapolis Public Schools, "Planning, Development, and Federal Programs--Native American Participation in Federally Funded Programs," 1973-74.

[45] Harlan Anderson letter, Aug. 1, 1974.

According to Project Manager Don Gurnoe, the program has three aims: academic, work experience, and social services. (p. 148) As of January 1974 it served three schools with the highest secondary school enrollments of Native American students--Phillips Junior High School, Franklin Junior High School, and South Senior High School. (p. 150)

According to the report of the American Institutes for Research, the dropout rate in the target schools has not decreased appreciably. Mr. Gurnoe told the Advisory Committee that prior to the 1973-74 school term the program had no marked effect on daily student attendance. He said that during the 1972-73 term at least 75 percent of Indian students in the program were earning less than half the number of credits required to graduate. Based on the initial report card period in the fall of 1973, he noted some improvement. (pp. 155-156) One positive result of the program is that it succeeded, for the first time, in bringing Indian professionals into the school system--about 19 in all.

The Indian Student Aid program is a locally financed project designed to encourage eighth and ninth graders to remain in school. Student participants work as tutors and aides in nine elementary schools in the district while attending three classes for 3 hours a day. According to figures supplied by the school district in January 16, 1974, 49 students were participating under the supervision of 2 adult Native American teacher aides. The program was not included in the 1974-75 Title I budget, and efforts were still underway in August 1974 to identify an alternate source of funding, "hopefully for $32,000."[46]

2. Department of Indian Education

In the early 1970's the Minneapolis Public Schools created a consultant position on Indian education within its Urban Affairs Division and hired Lee Cook for this position. He described himself as the only Indian involved in the educational "establishment" in Minneapolis at the time. A community group, the Indian Native Council on Minneapolis Education (INCOME), began to pressure the school district to provide education programs and services for Indians and to hire greater numbers of

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[46] Harlan Anderson letter, Aug. 1, 1974.

Native American professionals. Responding to this pressure, Dr. Davis, in his February 27, 1973, report to the board of education said:

> Historically, public education in Minneapolis and elsewhere has not always proved to be effective in meeting the needs of Indian students.

Dr. Davis recommended the creation of a department of Indian education. The board of education approved the suggestion, and the department became functional in September 1973.

Instead of having non-Indians provide services for Indians, the school district tried to maximize community participation in the new department. INCOME became the only citizens' advisory committee, and one of its first actions was to recommend Duane Dunkley departmental director. He had worked as educational specialist for BIA and as administrator of a Federal project at the State Department of Education. The school board approved the nomination. Mr. Dunkley told the Advisory Committee that his staff consisted of a teacher on special assignment, who acts as his assistant, and two student interns. (p. 182) The department has two primary objectives:

1. On the part of the school, improved education for Indian students through better understanding of Indian culture and Indian attitudes.

2. On the part of Indian students, better attendance and ultimately a higher percentage of graduates from the high schools.

The following list includes some of the new department's activities as reported by Mr. Dunkley:

1) Providing assistance to the Native American Parent Committee in staffing the Title IV program, including recruitment of the project director.

2) Organizing joint meetings with the Native American Parent Committee and INCOME regarding Title IV activities.

3) Assisting the AIM Survival School with bus transportation, free hot lunches, and materials and supplies.

4) Assisting the school district's personnel department in recruiting Native American employees.

5) Instructing classroom teachers on appropriate educational materials concerning Native Americans and developing in-service training workshops.

6) Working with all Native American programs and organizations, e.g., True American Native Students (a high school organization) and Upward Bound.

Members of the Indian community expressed discontent with the rank of the department within the school hierarchy and requested that it be given cabinet level status. Currently, Mr. Dunkley is responsible to the deputy superintendent of the Division of Institution and Planning. (p. 171) When queried about this by the Advisory Committee, Superintendent Davis said:

> The cabinet is the broad representation of the major divisions of the school district.... Certainly there is great importance to be attached to any of the divisions or the directorships, but I certainly can't operate at a cabinet level with every unit of the school district represented. (p. 139)

As examples, he cited health and special education, two major divisions that are not of cabinet status. (p. 140)

Mr. Cook told the Advisory Committee that the department is "...the first of its kind in an urban setting of this size in the country." (p. 23)

3. Staff Recruitment

There was overwhelming agreement by Native Americans that a critical need of the school district is to increase the number of Native American personnel in the schools, particularly teachers. The system has made strides in hiring Native Americans for paraprofessional positions, but there is still largely token representation at the teacher level.

Within the past few years, systematic national and local recruitment efforts have apparently intensified. Between March and May 1974 the school district personnel visited the following schools to recruit Native Americans:

Minnesota

University of Minnesota, Duluth
College of St. Scholastica, Duluth
University of Minnesota, Morris
Bemidji State College, Bemidji
Concordia State College, Moorhead
St. Cloud State College, St. Cloud
Moorhead State College, Moorhead
Mankato State College, Mankato
St. Olaf College, Northfield
University of Minnesota, Minneapolis
Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter

South Dakota

University of South Dakota, Vermillion
South Dakota State University, Brookings
Northern State College, Aberdeen
Black Hills State College, Spearfish
Huron College, Huron
Sioux Falls College, Sioux Falls
Augustana College, Sioux Falls

Illinois

St. Augustine Indian Center, Chicago
Loyola University, Chicago

North Dakota

Minot State University, Minot
University of North Dakota, Grand Forks
Mary College, Bismarck
North Dakota State, Fargo

Wisconsin

University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee
Wisconsin State University, Superior
Wisconsin State University, LaCrosse
Wisconsin State University, Eau Claire
Wisconsin State University, Stevens Point

Advertisements were placed in national journals with large minority circulations and information was disseminated to college placement offices throughout the country. Recruitment efforts in the past have included representation at the Natonal Indian Education Conferences, obtaining lists of Indian students from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and working with the counselor training programs for American Indians at the University of South Dakota. The Department of Indian Education has been integrally involved in the planning and implementation of recruitment.

One other program sponsored by the school district, the Career Opportunity program, has had limited success in recruiting Native American professionals. Federally funded under the Education Professions Development Act ($266,000 is budgeted for 1974-75), the program trains inner-city residents for careers in education and social work. Participants work as salaried teacher aides while attending college. Tuition, books, and transportation costs are assumed by the program. In 1973-1974 there were 90 participants in the program, 10 of whom were Native Americans. As of January 1974 two Native Americans were graduated from the program. Both are working for the school district--one as a teacher, the other as a social work assistant.

Despite these efforts, the small number of Indian professionals employed by the district indicates that the success of these recruitment efforts has not yet been realized. During the spring of 1974 five Indian teachers were recruited who began teaching in the fall of 1974. Gene Eckstein, director of the Indian Upward Bound program, suggested to the Advisory Committee that perhaps the district is sending "the wrong type of advisors" to recruit applicants. He said he "would highly recommend that Indians go out and try to recruit Indians." (p. 121) In August 1974 four Native Americans, in addition to their regular job assignments, were recruiting Indians for employment with the Minneapolis Public Schools--Duane Dunkley, director of the Department of Indian Education; Harlan Anderson, administrative assistant to the superintendent of schools; Donald Gurnoe, coordinator, Student Support program; and Paul Day, coordinator, Title IV program. Their success remains to be seen.

Mary Jane Anderson of the Heart of the Earth Survival School told the Advisory Committee that job recruiters are too "degree-oriented," and "weed out" Native Americans who qualify for jobs on the basis of past experience and skills but do not have a college degree. (p. 366)

4. Staff and Student Training

Harlan Anderson, administrative assistant to the superintendent of the Minneapolis Public Schools, told Commission staff in a telephone interview June 4, 1974, that in the past the district's Native American culture curriculum lacked organization. He characterized it as a "checkerboard" program. He was optimistic, he said, that the Department of Indian Education would provide better coordination for the program.

In a February 7, 1974, letter to Commission staff, Dr. Davis said that a "Teacher Committee Survey Team" develops general classroom curricula, and the faculty at each school then selects a program for its students. For this reason, courses vary from school to school. Indian culture courses are concentrated at schools with the highest Native American enrollments. A Task Force on Ethnic Studies is also assisting in curriculum development:

> [It]...has developed a number of materials for use at various grade levels dealing with topics in Indian Studies. These materials have been woven into the framework of the regular social studies curriculum as well as some supplementary units which are supportive of special programs in Indian Studies.

Some of the Indian culture units prepared by the task force include:

Indian Games
Indian Music
Indian Legends
American Indian Art Slides
Indian Poetry
Contemporary Indian Short Stories
The First Americans, Yesterday and Today
Contacts on the Frontier
Modern Issues: The American Indians
American Indian Recipes

In February 1974 Irving Elementary School and Clinton Elementary School, along with 660 other classrooms city-wide, used the "multi-media unit/pacs" which provided fourth, fifth, and sixth grade students:

> ...learnings about Indian people so that children study important Minnesota tribes, then U.S. tribes, then Latin American tribes...Interactions between groups are investigated. Contributions and individual contributors, past and present, are studied.[47]

Greeley Elementary School and 392 other classrooms utilized the Harcourt Brace Jovonavich Base Program to teach some aspects of Indian culture to fourth, fifth, and sixth grade students. The textbook is organized around the following conceptual themes: "Man is a product of heredity and environment, human behavior is shaped by the social environment, the geographic features of the earth affect behavior, political organization resolves conflicts and makes interactions easier among people, and economic behavior depends on the utilization of resources."[48]

Because Greeley, Irving, and Clinton Elementary schools are ESEA Title I target area schools (explained in more detail later in this chapter), they supplement their curricula with an 18-tape cassette program on Native Americans. These are produced by the Minneapolis Public Schools.

As for secondary schools, as of January 1974 Henry High School offered an Indian studies course to 50 students for 2 hours a day. Students at North High School used an Indian culture course as a substitute for English or social studies credit. At Central High School an Indian advocate taught a Native American history-culture course. Another course, "Myths, Legends and Folklore," also taught at Central High School, included a unit on Indians. Since 1970 Marshall University High School has offered a quarterly Indian studies course. The eighth grade minority studies courses at Anthony Junior High School and Ramsey Junior High School include a section on

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47. See Appendix B, "Social Studies Instruction About Native American Societies."

48. John Bastolich, social studies consultant, Minneapolis Public Schools.

Native Americans. At South High School an American Indian studies course is offered for Indian students. Five classes are held daily, accommodating 110 students.

One complaint that surfaced concerning student curricula was that a disproportionate number of Indian students were in special education classes. Table 3.2 on the following page indicates the number of Native American children in special classes as of October 16, 1973.

Of the 4,963 students enrolled in these classes, 1,340 or 27.0 percent, were minorities. Native American students numbered 277--approximately 5.6 percent of all special education students (Native Americans constitute 4.3 percent of total student enrollment). The figures also show that 10.9 percent of all Native American students are in special education classes.

Two commonly accepted assumptions are: 1) that 3 percent of any given population can be expected to fall into the category of "Special Education" or mentally handicapped in any way,[49] and 2) that among all races, there is a random distribution of qualities, talents, and handicaps.[50] Based on these assumptions, no racial group should have significantly more or less than 3 percent in the total special education enrollment, and no racial group should be in any special education classification in a proportion significantly different from that group's enrollment in the total school population.

Because of complaints by Native Americans that teachers were insensitive to their cultural needs, the Advisory Committee examined teacher training programs.

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[49] See D. Wechsler, The Measurement and Appraisal of Adult Intelligence (4th ed.), Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins, 1958; and L.M. Terman and M.A. Merrill, Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale, Boston; Houghton Mifflin, 1960.

[50] The use of this assumption can be seen, for instance, in Larry P. v. Riles, 343 F. Supp. 1306 (N.D. Cal. 1972); See also "Legal Implication of the Use of Standardized Ability Tests in Employment and Education," 68 Columbia Law Review 691, 695 (1968).

Table 3.2

Number of Students in the Minneapolis Public School District in Special Classes for Children with Learning Disabilities (Data Gathered October 16, 1973)

Classification of Disability: Educable Mentally Retarded

	Non Minority	Black American	Native American	Spanish Surnamed American	Asian American	Total
Number of Children	798(65.4%)	356(29.2%)	50(4.1%)	16(1.3%)	0	1,220
Classification of Disability: Trainable Mentally Retarded						
Number of Children	179(89.1%)	15(7.5%)	7(3.5%)	0	0	201
Classification of Disability: Special Learning and Behavior Problems						
Number of Children	1,574(71.2%)	437(19.8%)	159(7.2%)	29(1.3%)	11(0.5%)	2,210
Classification of Disability: Other Special Education Problems						
Number of Children	1,072(80.5%)	170(12.8%)	61(4.6%)	14(1.1%)	15(1.1%)	1,332

Source: Minneapolis Public Schools.

The Indian Upward Bound program (explained in more detail in the next section) was a forerunner in cultural training for teachers. In 1969 a series of human relations seminars was offered to Minneapolis public school teachers, administrators, and support staff which provided:

> ...introductions to the resources available; methods and techniques of incorporating the cultural arts in the school's curricula, and also projects for the teachers themselves--the development of Indian units for their use in the classroom. (p. 115)

Since July 1, 1971, the State of Minnesota requires that each teacher obtain 60 hours of human relations training to receive recertification. Teachers are recertified every 5 years, but are required to take the training only once. Although each district designs its own program, State law requires training in the following:

(1) An understanding of the contributions and lifestyles of racial, ethnic, and economic minorities.

(2) An understanding of the dehumanizing effect of prejudice.

(3) A respect for human diversity and personal rights.

(4) An understanding of how to provide a learning environment supportive of self-esteem for minorities.

Dr. Davis gave the Advisory Committee a list of staff development and in-service training programs offered by the Minneapolis Public Schools:

Release time workshops for all inner-city teachers in 1969-70.

A sensitivity training seminar for counselors and administrators in the spring of 1969.

Orientation programs for all new inner-city teachers, conducted since 1968.

Workshops on history and culture of black Americans and Indian Americans.

A workshop on drug abuse for students in July 1970.

A series of in-service professional growth courses for teachers.

Asked if the human relations training was having a favorable impact on teachers, Mr. Dunkley, director of the Department of Indian Education, responded:

> Personally, I don't feel it has that kind of impact....When you talk to individuals, it is difficult to change feelings and attitudes just by taking courses, being lectured to...I think that human relations has to take a different approach. (p. 175)

A better approach, he suggested, would involve the schools and the Indian community on a personal level. Such a program was being designed in conjunction with the Department of Indian Studies at the University of Minnesota.

B. Alternative and Supplementary Education Programs

Both supplementary and alternative education programs for Indian children have been developed in the Twin Cities.

One supplementary program, provided by the Indian Upward Bound program, originated in 1968 as a coordinated effort between the Indian community, the Minneapolis Public Schools, and the University of Minnesota. The program is funded through a grant from the Office of Education of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. For 1973-1974 it received a budget of $140,000, a decline from the $176,000 it received, in the early 1970's. (p. 122) Space for the program is provided by the Minneapolis Public Schools.

The program is staffed by a director, a cultural arts instructor, a guidance counselor, four teacher aides, and two secretaries. The main governing body is an Indian board of directors of whom approximately 60 percent are parents of children enrolled in the program. According to Director Gene Eckstein, the involvement of parents is crucial to the success of the program.

Mr. Eckstein told the Advisory Committee that the high dropout rate among Indian students results from the lack of opportunity to acquire basic skills at the pre-school and elementary levels, the lack of teacher understanding of their unique culture, and the lack of adequately trained resource people to help teachers. He suggested that a coordinated, comprehensive program beginning in pre-school and continuing through high school be established to assist Indian children in developing basic skills. (pp. 123-124)

For the 1973-1974 school term 122 students from the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth grades were participating in the program. The students were selected from Phillips Junior High School, Franklin Junior High School, North High School, and South High School.

The project, which provides counseling and tutoring services at study centers in local churches and junior high schools, stresses reading and mathematics. Instruction, offered at the centers 3 hours a day, is administered flexibly, and students are permitted opportunity to explore many avenues of learning. In 1969 a "pocket school" was established at the Messiah Church Center, in conjunction with the Minneapolis Public Schools, for Indian students unable to adjust to conventional junior high schools. The school averages about 30 students. Mr. Eckstein told the Advisory Committee:

> Through the use of this school we found that the students increased their attendance from 33 percent on the average to about 83 percent...We also found that the verbal skills and the retention of the students in the reading areas have greatly improved. Also we found that the math skills have increased. (p. 112)

The project has also succeeded in establishing an Indian cultural arts program within the Minneapolis Public Schools. Because it is open to all students, it has increased cultural exchange between Indian and non-Indian students. Mr. Eckstein pointed out that, especially in art classes, non-Indian students were seeking assistance from Indian students. This has helped to heighten the self-concept of the Indian student. As a result, he said, more Indian students have entered the art classes, and their average grade has increased. (p. 113)

One of the program's other activities is a summer camp, operated by St. John's University, Collegeville, Minn., which provides reading and mathematics instruction and an Indian cultural arts and crafts program with instruction in the Ojibwe language. Mr. Eckstein estimated from figures of June 1972 that only about 10 percent of the students who have been in the program have dropped out of school. He also said:

> Of the first eighth grade group that we took, which graduated this past spring [1973], about a third of the students have graduated, about a third of them are still in school and about a third have dropped out. (p. 119)

Mr. Eckstein emphasized that Upward Bound is "a supplement to the school system." In regard to the alternative schools he said:

> ...I don't agree that the alternate schools would be an entire substitute for the school system. I would very closely scrutinize what type of material they are providing; also what type of academic achievements are gained from this school, and whether or not this can be beneficial for [students] when [they] get into higher education. What other job opportunities become available? How well are their schools prepared for that? (p. 127)

Jim O'Brien, former director of the Heart of the Earth Survival School, and Mary Jane Anderson, one of its founders, answered these questions in their appearance before the Advisory Committee. Mr. O'Brien described how the public schools were failing Indian youths:

> These students are being pushed through the lower grades and the teachers just don't give a damn if they learn or not. They just want to get rid of them. If they can push a kid ahead, that means they are a good teacher...(p. 391)

Ms. Anderson concurred and told the Advisory Committee that her son was "pushed through grade after grade without any of his teachers recognizing the fact that he couldn't read." (p. 385)

The Heart of the Earth Survival School was founded after a judge in 1971 threatened to sentence an Indian couple to the workhouse if they did not enroll their children in school. Reacting to this, the couple with other Native Americans founded the Aim Survival School,[51] later renamed the Heart of the Earth Survival School. At first, the school did not receive funding from any sources. Lee Cook, at that time employed by the Minneapolis Public Schools, arranged for the school to receive some equipment such as desks, chairs, etc. In early 1972 two conferences were held for persons interested in Indian education to give added impetus and planning to the school. During fiscal year 1974 the school received its first funding--a $100,000 grant from the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The grant was renewed for the same amount for fiscal year 1975. A $20,000 grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity was impounded November 17, 1972, following an Indian takeover of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C. As the result of a subsequent court case, the money was released in spring 1974. Title IV of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act provides the school with bus transportation and a hot lunch program. (p. 390) Some private foundations and church groups also provide funds.

The Heart of the Earth Survival School began its fall 1974 semester on September 16 with a student enrollment of 76 and 8 staff members--a project director, an assistant project director, a Chippewa culture teacher, an English teacher, a mathematics teacher, and three home tutors.[52]

Mr. O'Brien described the flexible curriculum as the primary difference between public schools and the survival school. "You cannot teach a person anything if they don't want to learn it," he said.

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[51] Clyde Bellecourt, member, board of directors, Heart of the Earth Survival School, interview, Sept. 6, 1974.

[52] Bellecourt interview, September 1974.

> They [the students] don't have to sit there for 55 minutes out of the hour listening to something that they have no desire to learn. They will get their 55 minutes--maybe broken in three periods--but they will get it....We run our classes so that when we see a student losing interest in the subject we cut the class and go into something else. If the class is too short we will pick it up later in the day. (p. 392)

According to Mr. O'Brien, in 1973 the per annum cost per student was $1,050. Thus, the survival school saves the Minneapolis Public Schools approximately $79,800 per annum in pupil expenditures. Mr. O'Brien said, "...we received for the school a total of $500 in expendable materials, a few desks that were not fit for public schools, and a whole lot of books, outdated books." (p. 389)

Director of Indian Education Duane Dunkley said in a September 3, 1974, letter to Commission staff:

> This past year we continued a working relationship [with the survival school] by furnishing a limited supply of classroom materials, surplus school furniture, and transportation for their students. The transportation was incorporated into existing bus routes and was paid by funds from Title IV, Indian Education Project. Again this year we hope to provide assistance. We are asking the Heart of the Earth School to become an alternative within the Minneapolis Public Schools so additional benefits can be gained. [emphasis added]

The most pressing need of the survival school is to obtain a "good building" with a gymnasium and playground. Discussions with public school officials about the possibility of using one of the public school buildings had not met with a positive response as of January 1974. In addition to the use of a building, Mr. O'Brien said he would like to see a cross-cultural awareness program developed for staff and students of the survival school and the public schools. "I want my students to know about black people, Polish people, Chicanos," he said, "and I want those people to know about Indians--Indian kids and Indian teachers." (p. 394)

In response to a request by the AIM survival school for an outside agency to evaluate its curriculum, Dr. Norman E. Silverberg, a certified consulting psychologist with the Kenny Rehabilitation Institute, Minneapolis, on March 6, 1972, administered the Wide Range Achievement Test (which measures reading, spelling, and mathematics) to 24 survival school children and to 17 during a May 24, 1972, post-test session. Only 12 students of the total number, however, took both tests. The tests have two levels: Level I for children through the age of 11, and Level II for those 12 years and over.

Table 3.3

Results of Wide Range Achievement Test Administered to Heart of the Earth Survival School Children

	Pre-Test Grade Level Achievement (March 6, 1972)	Post-Test Grade Level Achievement (May 24, 1972)
Reading	4.94	7.01
Spelling	4.60	5.52
Arithmetic	4.52	6.30

Dr. Silverberg, in his evaluation of the curriculum, wrote to the school's director, Chuck Robertson:

> It is my observation that the staff of the AIM School are very dedicated and understanding of children. I was very favorably impressed, not only with the results of the quantitative evaluation, but also in terms of my observation of the children. They are happier and interested in learning. Interest in learning seems to be very much increased. It would appear to me, from my own personal point of view, that the AIM Survival School is meeting the needs of many children of the Indian community and is therefore successful. I hope that support is obtained to maintain this very useful institution in the Minneapolis Model Cities neighborhood.

C. Federal Programs

During fiscal year 1974 the Minneapolis Public Schools received approximately $10 million in Federal funds. The major part came from Titles I, III, IV, and VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). The district also received grants from the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act, the Manpower Development Training Act, the Emergency School Aid Act, the Economic Opportunity Act, and the Adult Education Act.[53] Although not specifically directed to any one group of students, these funds have helped the district respond to the needs of its Native American students.

1. Indian Education Act

In 1972 Congress passed the Indian Education Act (Public Law 92-318) to be funded through Title IV of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Title IV, Part A, instructed the U.S. Commissioner of Education to provide financial assistance to local education agencies (LEA's) that developed elementary and secondary school programs for Indian children. However, the funds with those of other programs were impounded by the executive branch. The Minnesota Chippewa Tribe filed suit in Federal court to have the funds released.

An application by the Minneapolis Public Schools for funds under Title IV was approved in July 1973, and the district received $234,765 for fiscal year 1974. The Office of Education of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare based the grant on the size of the Indian student population and the average annual per student expenditure.

Although the school district received the money in July 1973, other urgencies, such as development of the Department of Indian Education, delayed the program. It was not until October 23, 1973, that a project administrator for the program was selected. Paul W. Day, the district's choice, had hired 28 persons by the time of the Advisory Committee's open meeting in January 1974. He said that most of these were Native Americans. When completely staffed, the project will employ

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[53] Minneapolis Public Schools, departmental correspondence to Harlan Anderson, "Federal Funding--Benefits to Native American Students," Jan. 21, 1974.

53 persons--a project administrator, staff developer, coordinator of social work services, 35 social worker aides, 3 Indian student advocates, 1 pediatric nurse, 1 Indian art consultant, 10 Indian student tutors, and 2 clerical workers.[54]

The law requires maximum parental participation, and a 21-member Indian Parent Advisory Committee works with the project staff. The committee approved the original project proposal and will advise at other stages of the project.

As of January 15, 1974, school administration figures showed that 1,400 Indian students in 17 elementary and 9 secondary schools were participating in the program. This was 55 percent of the Native American enrollment. Once the additional staff is hired, another 673 Indian students will be served in 21 additional schools.[55]

The program's broad objectives, as stated in its proposal, are:

> (a) to substantially increase the education opportunities of Indian children.
>
> (b) to employ the talents and resources of Indian organizations, parents, and other individuals in providing education and supportive services to Indian school children.[56]

Mr. Day told the Minnesota Advisory Committee that there are several problems with the program. He said he is confronted either with apathetic school personnel who impede the program or with those who feel that Title IV alone will solve the "Indian problem." In addition, he said, Public Law 92-318 contains several "built-in" contradictions. Mr. Day submitted these in writing to the Advisory Committee:

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[54] Paul W. Day, "Program and Services to Indian students in Minneapolis Public Schools," Jan. 25, 1974. Commission files.

[55] Minneapolis Public Schools, departmental correspondence, "Federal Funding--Benefits to Native American Students."

[56] Application by Minneapolis School District for Minneapolis Indian Education Project, July 15, 1974.

1. Public Law 92-318 is unique in the sense that it makes Federal monies available specifically for Indian students; yet when the program proposal is submitted to Washington, D.C., included in the Federal application forms is a document that states all monies received for the proposal must be made available for all (ethnic groups) students...

2. The intent of Public Law 92-318 is to employ the talents of the local Indian parents, students, organizations, and other individuals...in identifying and meeting needs that are special to Indian children. The Minneapolis Title IV program works on the premise that Indian people working in the schools can best carry out the intent of the law. However, in the Minneapolis Public Schools the hiring procedures, rate of pay, and terms of employment, etc., are dictated to the Title IV program by the Minneapolis Civil Service Commission which states: no persons may be denied employment because of race, color, creed, sex, etc....

3. In addition to the Minneapolis Civil Service Commission guidelines for hiring, the Minneapolis Public Schools has also had its policies. The policies include regulations on who can work in the school, at what level, and how much they shall be paid: certification vs. non-certification. Oftentimes, Title IV has been excluded from hiring the most promising job applicants simply because the requirement policy dictates that the applicant have at least a bachelor's degree from college.

2. Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA)

By statute, Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act provides financial assistance to local educational agencies for the education of low-income families.[57] The Title I program of Minneapolis Public Schools received the largest funding of any Federal grant to the district during the 1973-74 school term--$3,377,388.[58] This money was used to improve education for students in 38 schools and other locations designated as ESEA I target area facilities. Within this area 21,546 students were being served by the program during 1973-1974. Of this number, 1,842 students or 8.5 percent were Native American. Based upon these figures, 85.7 percent of all Native American students were enrolled in the ESEA I target area schools.[59]

3. The Emergency School Aid Act

The Emergency School Aid Act (Title VII of ESEA) provides Federal funds to prevent minority group educational isolation. During 1973-1974 the school district received $535,441 under this act. Native American students attending nine junior high schools within the project's scope received "remedial reading and math programs and the...[services] of desegregation counselor aides."[60]

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[57] Public Law 89-10, 89th Congress, H.R. 2362, Apr. 11, 1965.

[58] Minneapolis Public Schools, "Planning, Development and Federal Programs, Native American Participation in Federally Funded Programs, 1973-1974."

[59] Minneapolis Public Schools, "Pupil-Personnel Sight Count," pp. 109-11.

[60] Minneapolis Public Schools, departmental correspondence, "Federal Funding--Benefits to Native American Students."

For 1974-1975 the school district applied for a $237,088 grant under Title VII to implement a pilot bilingual-bicultural project serving Chippewa and Sioux children in the primary grades. The project proposal, planned by a 20-member bilingual-bicultural ESEA advisory committee, called for a staff of 32--16 teachers and 16 paraprofessionals. This staff would "inject 'Indianness'--language, history, culture, arts--into the daily curriculum for all of the students in their classes."[61] The project would serve 400 students, including 200 Native Americans.

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[61] Ibid.

CHAPTER IV

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

> The incredible imbalance between the general population and Indians convicted of crimes indicates that the law is not working alike on all men.
>
> Anishinabe Longhouse, "An Indian Approach to Crime Control Corrections"

No matter what aspect of the justice system is examined in relationship to Native American people--law enforcement, courts, or corrections--Native Americans are disproportionately represented compared with their numbers in the Minnesota population. They are grossly underrepresented as employees; they are significantly overrepresented in the numbers of arrests and convictions. For example, Native Americans constitute 9.6 percent of inmate admissions to the State adult penal institutions, but only 1.8 percent of the employees of the State Corrections Department.

In general, persons from the Indian community were critical of all law enforcement agencies with respect to minority recruitment, relations with the Indian community, and the citizen complaint process. They consistently stated that none of these agencies has placed high priority upon minority concerns. Indian recruitment remains haphazard and unstructured;

little sensitivity is shown to Native American problems. In a November 1973 interview, Joe Bedeau, director of the Indian Neighborhood Club on Alcohol and Drugs, stated the case emphatically: "The Indian will begin respecting the police when the police start to respect the Indian."

The Minneapolis Police Department, however, appeared to have better rapport among Indians than other agencies. In January 1974 the community was looking to Mayor Hofstede and Police Chief Jack McCarthy for improved relations.

A statement by Chief McCarthy exemplifies a continuing problem for law enforcement officials working in minority communities:

> You are not able to enforce the law equally throughout the city. You enforce the law according to the standards and the toleration level in the community in which you work, and you have to learn to know these people in that community and what they feel is acceptable in the way of law enforcement for their community. (pp. 371-372)

This working philosophy will be applauded by some because it indicates some appreciation of cultural differences. Others will criticize it because it condones different standards of treatment. This delicate problem can be dealt with only through serious, continuing dialogue between the Indian community and local law enforcement officials.

Native Americans told the Advisory Committee the critical issues in the administration of justice were: 1) lack of Native American personnel, i.e., policemen, parole and correctional officers, administrators/planners, attorneys; (p. 349) 2) reluctance of the system to accept Indian self-determination and cultural identity as a valid basis for planning and implementing programs by Indians to help other Indians; (p. 359) 3) failure of the white-oriented penal system to rehabilitate Indian offenders; (p. 351) 4) differential treatment of Indians by local law enforcement agencies; (p. 323) 5) inadequacy of the police department's complaint system (Internal Affairs Unit); (p. 320) 6) disproportionately high arrest record for Native Americans.

During 1973 Minneapolis police arrested 2,258 Indians, representing 11 percent of all persons arrested.[62] Although the department could not provide arrest statistics by ethnic group for most crimes prior to 1973, it did have alcohol-related crimes subdivided by race. (See Table 4.1 on following page.)

Indian overrepresentation is pronounced in all of the categories: driving while intoxicated, liquor law violations, disorderly conduct, vagrancy, and drunkenness. In 1971 Minnesota repealed the public drunkenness statute, thus, making it no longer a crime. Persons now apprehended for drunkenness are taken to a detoxification center. Statistics on detoxification center admissions for a 6-month period (March to September 1973) show that Indians represented 20.9 percent of the total admissions, a decline in Indian representation since drunkenness was declared a disease rather than a crime. Since many crimes are committed while under alcoholic influence, alcohol undoubtedly contributes to the high arrest rate among Indians.

John Poupart, director of the Anishinabe Longhouse (a community corrections facility primarily for Indian offenders) and formerly Indian program development specialist with the Minnesota State Department of Corrections, described Indian concerns this way:

> The faults of the criminal justice system are that it is not working for the Native American in Minnesota...Some of the reasons why it is not--we have virtually no Indian people in law enforcement...no Indian people in the courts, nor do we have them in corrections. (p. 349)

Mr. Poupart described how the standards for even the most progressive programs work to the disadvantage of Native Americans. He said that alternatives to incarceration frequently demand things which are "totally irrelevant to Indian life styles," e.g., a rigid 40-hour work week, fixed residence, credit rating, etc. (p. 349)

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[62] Wes Reins, "Police-Indian Study," Project Number 74-39, Minneapolis Police Department, Planning and Research Division, Feb. 5, 1974.

Table 4.1

Arrests for Alcohol-Related Offenses by Race

Driving While Intoxicated (DWI) 1970-71-72
TOTAL: 6,217
WHITE: 5,369 (86.36%)
NEGRO: 319 (5.13%)
INDIAN: 490 (7.88%)
OTHER: 39 (0.63%)

Disorderly Conduct 1970-71-72
TOTAL: 4,516
WHITE: 3,097 (68.58%)
NEGRO: 686 (15.19%)
INDIAN: 695 (15.39%)
OTHER: 38 (0.84%)

Drunkenness 1970-71-72 (This Statute dropped July 1, 1971)

TOTAL: 10,618
WHITE: 6,626 (62.40%)
NEGRO: 523 (4.93%)
INDIAN: 3,391 (31.94%)
OTHER: 78 (0.73%)

Detoxification Center Admissions
3-21-73 to 9-14-73
TOTAL: 3,192
WHITE: 2,293 (71.84%)
NEGRO: 87 (2.73%)
INDIAN: 668 (20.93%)
OTHER: 144 (4.15%)

Liquor Law Violations 1970-71-72
TOTAL: 1,519
WHITE: 1,121 (73.80%)
NEGRO: 231 (15.21%)
Indian: 158 (10.40%)
OTHER: 9 (0.59%)

Vagrancy 1970-71-72
TOTAL: 36
WHITE: 26 (72.22%)
NEGRO: 5 (13.89%)
INDIAN: 5 (13.89%)
OTHER: 0 (----)

"Other" includes persons who were not classified for one reason or another. This also includes Mexican Americans.

Source: Minneapolis Police Department Statistics.

Mr. Poupart described the Indian person's experience in court:

> The court's presentence investigation is worked upon you by a non-Indian person who has never experienced the life style of an Indian, doesn't know the value system on which he functions...This presentence investigation will follow this individual throughout the system...(p. 350)

A. Minneapolis Police Department

1. Minority Recruitment

As of January 1974 the Minneapolis Police Department had a total of 945 employees, 850 of whom were sworn personnel (patrolmen, detectives, and their supervisors). Minority sworn personnel totaled 10, 2 of whom were Indian patrolmen. These Native Americans comprised 0.2 percent of all employees, while Indians constituted nearly 11 percent of all persons arrested by the Minneapolis Police Department during 1973. The department also employs six women in the sworn personnel category, all white.

Prior to 1974 the Minneapolis Police Department did not have a personnel unit. Personnel matters were handled through individual assignments or through the Minneapolis Civil Service Commission. In January 1974 Jack McCarthy, a Minneapolis police force veteran of 18 years, was appointed police chief. He established a personnel unit within the police department to "set up some records" and to begin examining personnel standards used in other police departments. Chief McCarthy has held a series of meetings with the Civil Service Commission to develop a minority recruitment program. The two departments have looked at successful minority recruitment programs in other parts of the country.

In September 1974 the personnel unit was staffed by four full-time workers, all of whom were white: a captain, a sergeant, a clerk, and an Urban Corp worker (student whose salary is paid in part by the Urban Corp--a city department that places college students in internships in city government--and in part by the police department). Sgt. Ed Zentzis of the personnel unit told Commission staff that the department hopes to increase the unit to 11 persons by January 1975--three lieutenants, one sergeant, five patrolmen, and two clerks.

Sergeant Zentzis also said the unit's major activities have centered around developing accurate personnel records. It has also been working with the Minneapolis Civil Service Commission (which handles all city hiring) and with minority representatives in developing standards and goals for the patrolman's examination. The hiring freeze on all city employees, still in effect September 1974, was given as the reason why the police department has not been recruiting minority personnel.

Following the recommendation of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, the department created the special position of community service officer (CSO). Twenty persons have been hired (18 remain) for the CSO training class because commitments were made prior to the freeze. These persons, four of whom are black and five Indian, are non-sworn personnel who assist in all phases of police work except making arrests. The position is seen as an entry post leading eventually to the rank of patrolman.[63]

2. Police/Community Relations

The Advisory Committee heard statements alleging unequal application of the law by the police department in the Indian community compared with non-minority communities. Frank Dickenson, Indian community worker at the Legal Rights Center, offered these observations:

> My own interpretation of the police in [the] Model City [area] is that I think they are supposed to come in here as kind of a liaison people for downtown. I think they are supposed to be in here as a sensitized people to try to understand and learn about the community problems. Well, it is a sad thing. I hate to say this, but it is not really turning out that way. We are talking about protective agents, or whatever, and they are not that protective. You call the police and you say that you are Indian. You

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[63] Sgt. Ed Zentzis, Minneapolis Police Department, interview with Commission staff, Sept. 16, 1974.

> call from the community, they won't come out right away; they won't respond to any calls at all; but if there is something going on where they can beat their [Indians'] heads in then they will come right away for sure. (p. 343)
>
> I've had a lot of cases...over the last 3 1/2 years...that the Indian people have been abused tremendously, been brutalized by the police; people are even afraid to appear because they are afraid of retaliation by the police. We had a case on Chicago Avenue where a 15- or 16-year-old boy was beaten so bad this kid couldn't see or walk the next day. (pp. 343-344)

Attorney Gerard Peterson, also of the Legal Rights Center, described the way the police department patrols Franklin Avenue, a main thoroughfare in the Indian community. He referred to police behavior when the local taverns close:

> The police hang out, stake out these bars, and I believe stop an Indian person driving or walking down the street on much less than probable cause or reasonable grounds to believe the person is involved in a crime or has become involved in a crime...than they do with white people. (p. 323)

Mr. Peterson added that Indians are frequently charged with public profanity or breach of peace--crimes which oftentimes are committed after they are stopped by the police. An Indian person may react angrily in response to a perceived racial insult or unjust treatment by a policeman, and may then be charged with "breach of peace" or "tumultuous conduct," which may result in a workhouse sentence. (p. 324) Since that kind of charge is highly discretionary, Mr. Peterson said, the arrested Indian has little recourse.

The Legal Rights Center has found the police department to be strong on rhetoric favoring improved police-community relations, Mr. Peterson said, but less enthusiastic about implementing the suggested improvements. (pp. 325-326) According to Mr. Peterson, the center has asked for photographs of patrolmen to show clients who allege police harassment and for police scanners that:

> ...we would have in offices manned by Indian persons to learn of developing party ordinances or breaches of the peace, or persons who are being unruly in bars so that the Indian people could go to these bars and go to these parties and tell the people... why not calm down, or let's work out whatever this problem is so we don't have to bring the police in on it....(p. 326)

In Mr. Peterson's estimation:

> There is a great deal of talk...about [how] police ought to talk to community people; about how community people have to come halfway to understand the policeman's job, but when it has come down to material in order to help us to create the good community police-relations, it hasn't been forthcoming from the police department. (p. 326)

Chief McCarthy told the Advisory Committee, "I think we have minimal police misconduct in this city, but with a police force the size of one in a major city there are those instances of misconduct." (p. 370) He said, however, that one instance of brutality can negate efforts to build good rapport with the Indian community.

Chief McCarthy said he thinks that many young officers are eager to serve in the urban minority communities because the high volume of activity will enhance their careers. The greatest number of complaints are lodged against officers with less than 5 years on the department, he added, explaining:

> A police officer tends to learn his job and mellow over the years, and he finds out through experience that the tongue is mightier than the sword and it is much easier to negotiate a problem than to go in and enforce a law. (p. 371)

He contrasted the overzealous, younger officer with the veteran patrolman. The latter, he said, is often reluctant to accept patrol responsibility in minority neighborhoods because of the types of problems encountered, e.g., more violence, more domestic complaints, etc. This type of officer, according to the chief, quickly requests a transfer to the so-called "silk stocking" neighborhoods of the city. (p. 372)

3. Citizen Complaints

The Internal Affairs Unit of the Minneapolis Police Department handles two kinds of complaints: 1) internal complaints of officer misconduct originating within the police department; and 2) citizen complaints of officer misconduct from the community. Only those complaints alleging violations of the department's rules and regulations are examined by the unit. Any charges of a criminal nature are referred for investigation to either the city or county attorney.

In September 1974 the unit was staffed by a lieutenant and a sergeant, both of whom were white. Statistics concerning complaints registered with the Internal Affairs Unit are unavailable prior to 1974. When the former administration departed in January 1974, it took the unit's records, according to Lt. Hugh Holtz of the Internal Affairs Unit.

Table 4.2 below indicates complaints received by the Internal Affairs Unit for the first 8 months of 1974. No statistics are available as to the race of the complainant.

Table 4.2

Complaints Filed With the Internal Affairs Unit
Minneapolis Police Department
January 1, 1974-August 31, 1974

Status of Complaint	Number
Unsustained*	69
Sustained	11
Referred to the Unit Commander	4
Complainant Walked Out of the Interview	3
Referred to the City Attorney	7
Pending	2

*Those the Internal Affairs Unit decides do not show probable cause.

Source: Lt. Hugh Holtz, Minneapolis Police Department.

When a citizen makes a formal complaint against a police officer, the Internal Affairs Unit conducts an investigation. If the charge is sustained, it is referred to the deputy chief in charge of the officer's division for disciplinary action. No action is taken without the chief's approval. Any officer charged with a violation is entitled to a departmental hearing. In such cases, a hearing board is convened, consisting of a deputy chief of the bureau, a person equal in rank to the accused, and a person of higher rank. The accused is allowed representation by counsel. After hearing the evidence, the board decides the case and submits a recommendation to the chief.[64]

According to Chief McCarthy, "Ultimately, the burden of responsibility falls on my shoulders as chief, and I will decide what I think is right here regardless of what the board has recommended." (p. 376) The chief considers the Internal Affairs Unit to be "an arm of the police chief...established with one primary function--to assure the chief that the rules and regulations of the police department are enforced firmly and fairly at all times." (p. 374)

Chief McCarthy told the Advisory Committee that he has recommended that a fourth person be appointed to the hearing board, who "ought to be a captain...chosen by the administration" because:

> Two members of that three-man board, presently, in essence represent the officer; the Police Federation is his union, and the other officer is chosen by him. (p. 376)

A four-man board, so composed, would balance the representation between the police administration and its rank and file. In May 1974 the chief met with the South Minneapolis Coalition Crime Task Force to consider the addition of a community representative to the Internal Affairs Unit.[65] As of September 1974 no additions had been made.

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64. Lt. Hugh Holtz, Internal Affairs Unit, Minneapolis Police Department, interview Sept. 16, 1974.

65. Twin Cities Observer, May 15, 1974.

The internal character of the investigation irritates members of the Indian community. Mr. Peterson said:

> First, there is no advertising of the Internal Affairs Unit; people don't know about it. Second, you go down there and you file your complaint. You are subjected to a person who types at about two words per minute. You sit there and you talk, and you talk, and you talk while this person types. Third, you go into another room in which there are two policemen who are in plain clothes but armed with revolvers who do the next interview; and fourth, once you have filed your complaint you never find out whether it has been sustained or rejected; you never get to face the policeman against whom you have filed a complaint. In essence you never hear again of the complaint. (p. 328)

Lieutenant Holtz told Commission staff September 16, 1974, that both the complainant and the accused officer receive a written report indicating the disposition of the case. A copy is also maintained in the officer's personnel file.

Since November 1973 the Legal Rights Center has had a project to encourage community people to come to the center with their problems with the police. The purpose is to monitor complaints and inform the police chief and the courts of defects in the procedures. Mr. Peterson said, in his opinion, the Minneapolis Police Department has "totally neglected the area of policing themselves." (p. 330) In 1972, he said, only two persons were assigned to the Internal Affairs Unit, and they handled some 128 complaints.

Community complaints, according to Chief McCarthy, are a dilemma for any police chief. If he determines that the officer is in violation, "the citizen has a right to know that the case has been investigated, the officer is in violation as the citizen has said, and has been properly disciplined." (pp. 376-377) Chief McCarthy also said the rest of the police department has a right to know. However, if an allegation of misconduct involves brutality and the police chief renders a sanction such as suspension, the citizen still has the option of filing a civil suit requesting punitive damages. Chief

McCarthy said this places the officer and himself as administrator in double jeopardy; a "trial" has been held and sentence imposed, yet the officer is liable to be retried and subjected to additional penalties.

4. Human Relations Training

New police department recruits undergo 16 weeks training for a total of 640 hours at the Police Academy. During the recruit training class completed September 21, 1973, only 14 hours of human relations training designed as "sensitivity training," were provided.[66] Two representatives from the Indian community were involved in a 2-hour session with recruits. Other topics covered were Federal civil rights, civil rights, urban coalition, and Jewish community relations.

The present inservice training schedule does not include specific training in minority cultures. However, the police department, through Dr. Robert Flint of the University of Minnesota, is developing an experimental learning program for both police recruits and veteran policemen. As of June 1974 that program had not been introduced.

B. Community Resources

The Legal Rights Center has been active in the legal representation of Indians and other minorities since 1970 through a coalition of three groups: the American Indian Movement, representing the Indian community; an organization on the north side, The Way, representing the black community; and members of the Hennepin County Bar Association.

In early 1974 the Legal Rights Center had a staff of four attorneys and was funded through private contributions from law firms and foundations and a grant from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) of the U.S. Department of Justice. (p. 317) Attorney Gerard Peterson told Commission staff that if the center could not identify a funding source by late September 1974, it would be forced out of operation. However, they were subsequently refunded.

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[66] Reins, "Police-Indian Study."

During 1973 the center reported a caseload of 600, primarily in the area of criminal defense. (pp. 319, 321) Forty-five percent of its clients were Indian. Mr. Peterson told the Advisory Committee that the center has community control in three respects: 1) An active board of directors composed primarily of Indians and blacks makes major policy decisions; 2) four community workers, two black and two Indian, "really control the direction of the center" by helping to decide where energies should be directed and who should be represented in conflicts between resources and representation; 3) "The defendant with the aid of the community worker makes all decisions" including assisting the defense attorney in the selection of jurors and other strategic decisions during a trial. (p. 318)

Mr. Peterson defined the role of community workers at the Legal Rights Center:

> The community workers go out and investigate the person's background....If there is a drinking problem...an employment problem... a family problem, the community worker attempts to find it out...presents both the problem and the solution to the prosecutor or to the judge in charge of the case in the hopes that the person can be diverted out of the criminal system and get a fresh start on life through one of the social agencies....The community workers act essentially as facilitators...getting community people who are in need of a program to the programs..dealing with the racism or the economic biases held by members of these agencies. (pp. 319-320)

Frank Dickenson, an Indian community worker who helps Indian clients deal with chemical dependency, introduced Joe Bigbear, a young Indian volunteer worker at the Legal Rights Center. Mr. Bigbear described his own previous involvement with chemical dependency:

> I came from the court system facing a 36-year sentence in jail...and prior to the sentence I spoke to Frank [before the trial]...and he suggested medical [treatment]....Well I was in jail about 28 days before my mother was able to raise bond, and I looked at all my arrests and how they related to the chemical, and it really

> struck me kind of hard...because almost each and every time...almost directly back to when I was a juvenile, 13 years old, when I started my car stealing days...and truancy.... (p. 389)

After a 30-day treatment program, Joe Bigbear was put on 3 years' probation for a 5-year suspended sentence.

The Anishinabe Longhouse, funded by the State Corrections Department through an LEAA grant, is both a prerelease guidance center and a halfway house. With a staff of eight--a director, assistant director, four counselors, a house manager, and a secretary--the program is able to serve approximately 100 persons. The staff counsels inmates before their release from prison and provides followup counseling when the men are on their own. The program can accommodate 15 men during a residential phase following release from prison. Longhouse programs are developed by Indians and stress Indian values, customs, and life styles. Religious consultation is available for those who wish it. A Longhouse publication states:

> We have proved that an Indian offender is better able to make the adjustment to society if he is assisted by other Indians, and he is dramatically less likely to break the law again than if he was left exclusively to the existing system.[67]

Longhouse Director John Poupart said that in his opinion LEAA grants have been abused by city, county, and State agencies. They have received monies under the guise of operating innovative demonstrations, he said, but the program grants have done little else than augment the existing failing system. (p. 357) He gave as an example a police drop-in center operated on the fringes of the Indian community. For the program to better the welfare of that community, he said, "it ought to be put into the Indian community" and "be managed by Indian people" using the resources of the police department and other agencies. (p. 359)

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[67] Anishinabe Longhouse, "An Indian Approach to Crime Control Corrections," p. 8.

A report from the Governor's Crime Commission, which administers LEAA funds, shows that 17 Indian projects were funded in Minnesota by LEAA in fiscal year 1974 for a total of $866,890. Three earlier grants totaling $79,766 were also funded. Thus, LEAA funds designated for the direct benefit of Indians in the State represent approximately 8.7 percent of the nearly $10 million allocated by LEAA to Minnesota for all programs. Six of the Indian programs located in the Twin Cities area are: 1) Anishinabe Wakaigon, a halfway house; 2) Indian Neighborhood Club; 3) Metropolitan Indian Legal Services; 4) Anishinabe Longhouse; 5) United Indian Group Home Outreach; and 6) Indian Youth Services Project. The Legal Rights Center and Neighborhood Justice Center, both recipients of LEAA funds, have a significant Indian clientele. Most of these are managed by Indians and have received strong participation and support from the Indian community according to statements received by the Advisory Committee.

C. Police Protection During the Wounded Knee Trials

The Wounded Knee trials were held in St. Paul from January to September 1974. Because of the large influx of persons into the city for the trial, additional police protection was considered necessary.

Edward McGaa, the Native American deputy director of the St. Paul Department of Human Rights, was credited by Mayor Lawrence Cohen of St. Paul with having provided considerable assistance in sensitizing the city during the Wounded Knee trials. Mayor Cohen said, "The city of St. Paul has, I think, come to a new awareness of Indian culture and history because of the trials being held in our area." (p. 12) He commended the cooperative efforts of city departmental heads and staff, the police department, local private agencies, the churches, and leaders of the American Indian Movement:

> The St. Paul police and local businessmen, including owners and operators of local liquor establishments, participated in learning sessions which, though aimed at helping them to deal with the problems that may arise during the course of the trials, will...improve the on-going relations between Indians and other citizens of St. Paul. (p. 12)

With the assistance of Federal funds, the Human Rights Department helped to set up a special police-Indian community patrol to maintain tranquility during the Wounded Knee trials. According to Mr. McGaa, the Indian patrols working side-by-side with policemen helped to remove a lot of false images the police have about Indians. (p. 78)

Only one policeman in the city of St. Paul is recognized as Indian, Mr. McGaa said. (p. 80) He expressed the hope that some of the Indians working on the patrol might be able to join the police force eventually. He said:

> Really it was the Federal trial that brought this on St. Paul. We asked for $140,000 from the Federal Government. They spent $15 million at Wounded Knee...If we wanted tanks, if we wanted guns, we could have got them just like that. A million bucks worth, two million, five million dollars, but asking for a piddly little $140,000 of the United States Government, we have gone to every Federal agency that you can name, Justice Department, BIA, and we haven't got a thing. So we are taking $25,000 of LEAA funds, a State grant, to pay for the AIM patrol, to pay for some of the overtime for the policemen, and--once that runs out we are going to lose our AIM patrol--and also to pay for the minor electronic equipment that we need for communications, and it is a pity that we can't have Federal funding. (pp. 87-88)

Pat Ballenger, an AIM member from St. Paul, looked beyond the trial:

> I agree to a point that the police and community relations within St. Paul have improved during the Wounded Knee trial. However, I have yet to see anything from the city of St. Paul, from the county, or from the State governments stating that there are going to be any Indians participating in the police department after the Wounded Knee trials. (p. 94)

CHAPTER V

HEALTH CARE

> There are 12 hospitals within 2 miles of here [the Minnesota Church Center in Minneapolis]....In these hospitals there is...probably a cash flow annually of between $100 million and $200 million spent on health care. Yet, the people who live in this neighborhood [largely Indians] suffer from miserable health.... (p. 288)
>
> Dr. Charles McCreary, MD
> Pilot City Health Center

The health problems of Indians in Minneapolis received national attention in the television program, Bill Moyers' Journal--"Why Did Gloria Die"--broadcast in 1973.[68] Gloria Curtis, a Minnesota Chippewa Indian living in Minneapolis, was admitted to the hospital because she was suffering from hepatitis. The documentary showed that despite her illness she left the hospital because of the disdainful attitude of the staff members. She later returned to the hospital where she died.

Mr. Moyers said: "The death certificate said she died of hepatitis, but that's only part of the story." Don Goodwin, a Twin Cities' Indian interviewed during the program, offered this explanation:

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[68] WNET, "Bill Moyers' Journal," Mar. 20, 1973.

> I don't think it was so much the hepatitis that killed her. My feeling about what killed her is the bad attitude of that hospital, number one, the unwillingness of the hospital to admit their deficiency in dealing in cross-cultural areas. That's what killed her, you know...I guess they call it just plain racism is what killed her.

Despite incidents such as this, the white community, according to Dr. Charles McCreary, a physician at the Pilot Health Center, remains largely unconvinced of the need for special health facilities for Indians. Dr. McCreary told the Advisory Committee that ironically each of the 12 area hospitals was built for a particular ethnic or religious group, i.e., Swedish Lutheran, Mount Sinai, St. Mary's. "The problem for the Indians," he said:

> ...is that they are coming late in the game--when it is too expensive to buy into a hospital. These hospitals were all started about 1900 when a couple of deaconesses could buy an old house and call it a hospital. Today hospital care costs $111 a day in Minneapolis, and it costs about $15 or $20 million to put up a 300-bed hospital. Then there are the running expenses. Indians...just don't have that kind of money. (p. 289)

A. Native American Health Levels

Three health level indicators--causes of death, infant mortality rates, and age-specific death rates--were examined in relation to Indians in the October 1973 issue of Minnesota Medicine, the journal of the Minnesota State Medical Association. The article concluded that Indian people suffer from poorer health levels than white people.[69]

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[69] Charles McCreary, MD, Charles Deegan, Jr., and David Thompson, "Indian Health in Minnesota," Minnesota Medicine--Supplement No. 2, Volume 56., October 1973, p. 87.

In the Minneapolis metropolitan area, the infant death rate is more than 50 percent higher among Indians than among whites. The annual infant death rate in Minneapolis for all races for 1968-1970 was 22.9 infant deaths per 1,000 live births; in Hennepin County for the same years the Indian infant death rate was 35.3 infant deaths per 1,000 live births. Ramsey County (St. Paul) had an Indian infant death rate of 31.0 percent per 1,000 live births for the same years.[70]

A major factor in the high infant death rate is that Indian mothers do not receive prenatal care as early in pregnancy as white mothers. In 1969, 62.4 percent of white mothers in Minnesota received prenatal care during the first 3 months of pregnancy and only 0.7 percent received no care at any time during their pregnancy. But in the Minneapolis metropolitan region, from 1967 through 1970 only 29.7 percent of Indian mothers began prenatal care in the first 3 months of their pregnancy, and 8.4 percent received no prenatal care at all.[71]

In terms of the age-specific death rate, in Minnesota in 1969, 31 percent of all persons who died were under age 65. For the years 1968 and 1969, 64 percent of Indian people who died were under age 65.[72] Table 5.1 on the following page, compares the age-specific death rates for Indians and whites in 1970. The figures indicate that Indians are three to five times more likely to die between ages 15 and 54 than are whites.

Accidents lead the causes of death among Indians, listed in Table 5.2 on the following page. Indians are more likely than whites to die in young adulthood or middle age as the result of the diseases of aging such as heart disease, cancer, and cerebrovascular disease which claim many whites.[73]

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[70] Ibid.

[71] Ibid., pp. 87-88.

[72] Ibid., p. 88.

[73] Ibid.

Table 5.1

Age-Specific Death Rate for Indians and Whites in Minnesota--1970

Age Group	Ratio Indian/White
Under 5	1.66
5-9	0.42
10-14	1.58
15-19	3.32
20-24	5.31
25-29	3.88
30-34	4.67
35-39	4.02
40-44	4.18
45-49	3.49
50-54	2.58
55-59	1.69
60-64	1.44
65-69	1.05
70-74	1.20
75-79	0.74
80-84	0.78
85 and Over	.075

Source: McCreary, Deegan, and Thompson, "Indian Health in Minnesota."

Table 5.2

Leading Causes of Death of Indians and for All Races in Minnesota (in Percent)

Cause of Death	Indian 1968-1970	All Races 1970
Accidents	23.2%	6.3%
Heart Disease	19.7%	37.6%
Cancer	7.9%	18.1%
Cerebrovascular Disease	7.9%	12.7%
Influenza and Pneumonia	5.8%	3.2%
Cirrhosis	5.4%	1.1%
Early Infancy	5.2%	2.2%
Diabetes Mellitus	4.6%	1.8%
Other Causes	21.0%	17.0%
	100.0%	100.0%

Source: McCreary, Deegan, and Thompson, "Indian Health in Minnesota."

Beginning in August 1972 the Indian Health Board initiated a survey of all known Indian households in Minneapolis. By January 1973, 389 households had been visited. Despite the fact that nearly 70 percent of the households had some form of health coverage, the interviewers found that only 8.2 percent went to private physicians and dentists. Many families--3.8 percent--had no primary medical or dental source. Another 28 percent indicated that theirs was a hospital emergency room.[74]

Interviewers found numerous health problems in the households that they visited. In 11.6 percent of the households there was a person requiring immediate inpatient hospital care. Table 5.3 below indicates the variety of health problems found by the interviewers.

Table 5.3

Health Problems Found in Interview Survey of 389 Minneapolis Indian Households

Type of Problem	Households No.	%
Dental Problem	134	34%
Eye or Vision Problem	54	14%
Hearing Problem	22	6%
Preventive or Diagnostic Concerns	94	24%
Mental Health Problem	25	6%
Alcohol or Drug Problem	37	10%
Chronic Disease and Disability	44	11%
Acute Medical Problems	84	21%
Other Problems	3	10%
No Medical or Dental Problems	44	11%

(More than one problem was found in many households.)
Source: McCreary, Deegan, and Thompson, "Indian Health in Minnesota."

1. Chemical Dependency

Alcoholism and other forms of chemical dependency are nationally recognized as serious health problems which demand concerted attack on many fronts. Effects are not only debilitating to the physical and mental health of individuals, but also to family relationships, economic functioning, and the whole fabric of society. The Indian Health Service considers alcoholism one of the most significant and urgent health problems facing the Indian people today.[75]

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[74] Ibid., pp. 88-89.

National statistics indicate that deaths from alcoholism are six and a half times greater for Indian people than for the remainder of the population.[76] In Minnesota during 1972 violent deaths resulting from alcohol use occurred five times more often among Indian people than among the general population.[77]

It is believed, however, that different factors contribute to chemical dependency among Native Americans than among other racial groups. At a Minneapolis forum of the National Council on Indian Opportunity in March 1969 one Native American observed:

> We find alcohol is a big problem to American Indian people....In fact, many of our problems stem from this....Actually, it's only a symptom of...cultural conflicts. American Indians had cultural values quite different from those being imposed on us.

A similar forum in Dallas heard another articulation of the problem:

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75. U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Alcoholism, a High Priority Problem--A Report of the Indian Health Task Force on Alcoholism, DHEW Publication No. (HSM) 73-1200, p. 1.

76. U.S., Department of Justice, announcing the creation of the Office of Indian Rights within its Civil Rights Division, Aug. 20, 1973.

77. Joseph Westermeyer and J. Brantner, "Violent Death and Alcohol Use Among the Chippewa in Minnesota," Minnesota Medicine, 1972, Vol. 55, pp. 749-752.

> Alcohol in itself is not the problem....It's the symptom of the lack of social acceptance, not being about to adjust....It's the fact that they [Indians] are trying to tell you or tell the community, they have problems....If the Indian were accepted socially, economically, or fully into the community, I don't think alcohol would be a problem as such.

The State of Minnesota has not been unaware of problems created by chemical dependency. In 1973 the State legislature set forth the following policy:[78]

> It is hereby declared to be the public policy of this State that the interests of society are best served by providing persons who are dependent upon alcohol or other drugs with a comprehensive range of rehabilitative and social services.

To transform these words into concrete actions, the State in December 1973 replaced the Minnesota Commission on Alcohol Problems with a new Alcohol and Drug Authority within the State Department of Public Welfare. A Minnesota Native American advisory board was established in January 1974. Joe Bedeau, former director of the Indian Neighborhood Club on Alcohol and Drugs, was appointed coordinator of the board.[79] He spoke at length to the Advisory Committee concerning the State's responsiveness to Indian chemical dependency.

According to Mr. Bedeau, Minnesota receives approximately $11 million under the banner of chemical dependency. (p. 267) The State plan indicates that "Indians are the number one priority" for this money. Mr. Bedeau took issue with this claim.

> The State of Minnesota funds 117 information and referral centers none of which are Indian;

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[78] Minnesota Session Laws--1973, First Regular Session, "Alcohol and Other Drug Abuse," chap. 572. S.F. no. 1455, sect. 1, 254A.01, p. 1063.

[79] Mr. Bedeau has since vacated this position.

> 23 detoxification centers, one of which is an Indian program on White Earth Reservation with a 12-bed capacity; approximately 30 primary treatment centers, 8 of which are in Hennepin County, none of which are Indian; 29 residential programs, 13 of which are in Hennepin County. They have two residential programs which are Indian and one is on Leech Lake Reservation and one is on the White Earth Reservation.
>
> So the State of Minnesota has approximately 1,700-plus beds for chemical dependency, and approximately 37 of them are Indian. (p. 269)

To support his position that "the money spent on programs and facilities in Hennepin County and Minnesota is not helping or reaching Indian people," Mr. Bedeau presented figures on the number of Indian admissions to Hennepin County detoxification centers. He said that "we [Indian people] represent 23 percent of the people admitted to the centers." (p. 268) In addition, the recidivism rate (the number of times returning to the facilities) is six times greater for Indians than for non-Indians. (p. 268) Table 5.4 below gives the June to September 1973 admissions t detoxification centers.

Table 5.4

Admissions to Hennepin County Detoxification Centers
June - September 1973

	Total Admissions	Indian Admissions
June 1973	728	168
July 1973	737	174
August 1973	834	207
September 1973	867	187 (p. 268)

Mr. Bedeau told the Advisory Committee that another reason why alcohol treatment programs were failing Native Americans was that they were administered by whites. This practice has also been criticized by the State in its plan for alcoholism programs: "Historically, chemical abuse treatment programs instituted by the white community have been relatively ineffective in the successful treatment of American Indians."[81] Nevertheless, at the time of the open meeting in January 1974, there was no Indian in a decisionmaking position in the State Authority on Alcohol and Drug Abuse.

The Minnesota Native American Advisory Board to the State Alcohol and Drug Authority was characterized by Mr. Bedeau as another example of tokenism. He said:

> The most urgent need that we have at this point is to assess our own needs, plan our own programs, implement these programs, and have a voice in the distribution of funds so that we will have a full, continual care--detox centers, primary treatment centers, halfway houses for men and women, and aftercare programs that will provide services to Indian people that will be effective.
>
> The greatest drawback in attempting to obtain these types of services, programs, and facilities is that they are viewed as a separatist movement rather than a realistic approach to the solution for chemical dependency problems. (pp. 269-270)

In response to pressure from Native American people, Senate Bill SF 2964 was enacted on March 29, 1974, which established an Office of Native American Programs within the State Authority on Alcohol and Drug Abuse. The office will be headed by an Indian director who will establish policies and procedures with the assistance of a citizens' advisory council and the Native American Advisory Board. Funds for chemical dependency programs for Native Americans will be administered through this office. J. Doyle Kirby, associate director of the State Authority on Alcohol and Drug Abuse, in a telephone interview June 10, 1974, reported that two Native Americans had been hired and were scheduled to begin work in mid-June 1974.

Even before the bill was passed, Mr. Bedeau expressed enthusiasm about the new office. He was quoted in the St. Paul

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81. State of Minnesota, "State Plan for Alcoholism Programs," submitted to the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, Oct. 1, 1973, p. 489.

Dispatch:[82]

> It is the first time anyone has sponsored a bill to meet the identity crisis Indians face when they undergo treatment for alcoholism...[The office] will allow Native Americans to do what we've been asking for so long--to establish a program on an Indian-to-Indian basis.

The Indian Neighborhood Club on Alcohol and Drugs in Hennepin County, funded solely by Federal grants, operates as a "drop-in" center and has developed into a crisis intervention center. With a staff of nine, the club is open 7 days a week, 24 hours a day. Its functions include conducting individual and group therapy sessions and providing medical, food, transportation, and lodging assistance during emergencies. According to Mr. Bedeau, the club is "doing a terrific job for Indian people." (p. 268)

B. Hennepin County General Hospital

Hennepin County General Hospital has become a major provider of health care services for the indigent. Robert J. Reinkober, assistant administrator, told the Advisory Committee that the hospital handles the health care needs of approximately 40 percent of the Minneapolis Native American community. He said that Indians constituted approximately 4 percent (11 patients out of 250 patients) of daily emergency room patients. Of the total yearly outpatient visits, 5,000 or 6 percent were made by Indians. At the time of the open meeting, the hospital's clinic was serving 125 Indian families. An Indian volunteer worker in the pediatrics clinic was credited with raising the average of Native American patient visits 200 percent--from approximately 5 per day to 15. He has since left, but it is premature at this writing to determine if the Indian caseload has decreased. (pp. 305-306)

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[82] Dorothy Lewis, "Indian-Run Alcohol Abuse Plan Hailed--Bill Would Provide $500,000 in Funds," St. Paul Dispatch Feb. 22, 1974.

The hospital's crisis intervention center, according to Mr. Reinkober, has worked closely with the Indian community--especially in its suicide prevention program. Hospital staff and Indians have met to exchange and to improve mutual understanding. (p. 307) After meeting with the Indian Health Board to determine Native American health care priorities, the hospital opened a family practice clinic at Lutheran Deaconess Hospital in 1972. At the time of the open meeting, 250 Indian families were enrolled in the clinic. (p. 305)

Mr. Reinkober told the Advisory Committee that of the approximately 1,200 persons employed by the hospital only 6 were Indians--2 custodial workers, 1 cook, 1 nurse, 1 nursing assistant, and 1 "advocate." He said the percentage reflected the small number of Indians living in Minneapolis. "But when you consider the patient load. . ." he admitted, "it would be low." (p. 311) The family practice clinic at Deaconess Hospital also employed one Indian advocate.

General Hospital created the "Indian advocate" position to fill the communication gap caused by the lack of Indian employees. Darlene Miner, who filled this position, told the Advisory Committee that her job involved working with many aspects of a patient's life:

> I see to each of my patient's needs, whether it be financial or referring them for alcoholic counseling, making appointments to followup when they leave the hospital, refer them to agencies, for example, general assistance or to the Hennepin County Welfare Department. (p. 312)

The Advisory Committee asked Mr. Reinkober if one person was capable of handling such a large caseload. He responded that an employment freeze at the hospital in January 1974 precluded hiring additional Indian advocates. The decisionmakers, he said, may feel that although advocacy positions are necessary, they are "...not essential for delivering services." (p. 315)

Mr. Reinkober described two programs directed toward Indians

> We have attempted to work with the New Careers program in bringing American Indian students into the hospital and getting them acquainted with health vocations. That has not been all that successful, quite frankly, but we continue, I think, in a healthy relationship with the New Careers program.

> The family practice program has given an elective to the residents in their second or third year. They may elect to spend 2 months on a reservation as part of their rotation. However, that is an elective, not mandatory. (p. 306)

Despite these efforts, Mr. Reinkober confessed that:

> The hospital's track record as far as training American Indians as interns or residents is not all that great; however, it is, I think, one of the critical problems in delivering medical care to the Indians. There have not been that many American Indians who have chosen the medical profession as their profession. (p. 306)

Mr. Reinkober looked for improvement. He said one Native American would begin his internship at the hospital in the summer of 1974, and another Native American was considering it. (p. 307)

C. The Indian Health Board

The Indian Health Board was founded in Minneapolis in 1971. It is the first urban Indian health care facility of its kind in the country. Congressman Donald Fraser (D-Minn.) secured funds for the Board through the fiscal year 1972 Interior Appropriations Bill. A 20-member Indian advisory board oversees the total operations. Charles Deegan has been executive director since its inception. Dr. Carol Krush, MD, a physician at the facility, described the advisory board's function as follows:

> [It]...sets policies... It approves or disapproves of policies that some of the staff may come up with. For instance, if the medical or dental staff forms a plan, this has to be approved by the board. (p. 282)

The Indian Health Board is funded primarily through Federal grants from the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare--$150,000 was received during fiscal year 1974. Other funding is provided through private sources. The Donner Foundation of New York City will pay the salaries of the Health

Board's full-time doctor and dentist until 1976. Mr. Deegan devotes a large portion of his time identifying new funding sources, both nationally and in the local business community.

In August 1972 the Indian Health Board began a survey of all known Indian households in Minneapolis to determine general health needs.(See Tables 5.1 - 5.4) Based upon this information and upon an analysis of General Hospital's emergency room records, the Health Board recommended that an Indian-operated medical and dental clinic be opened. This facility became a reality in January 1974. Staffed by one full-time physician, one full-time dentist, and two part-time dentists, the clinic administers health care services to Native Americans. Fees vary with the patient's ability to pay, and those who cannot afford to pay are not required to.

Dr. Krush said, "Because of a desire to form a link with the traditional health care facilities," the Indian Health Board maintains a relationship with General Hospital. (p. 28) To sensitize local nursing students to Indian concerns, the board showed the documentary, "Why Did Gloria Die."

During the few years it has been in operation, the Indian Health Board has addressed many of the health problems of Minneapolis' Indian population. Its future success depends upon continued and increased funding and upon a firm relationship with the rest of the Minneapolis health establishment.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION, FINDINGS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. CONCLUSION

Throughout this project, the Minnesota Advisory Committee attempted to hear from representatives of the various Native American groups critical of the delivery of urban services and from officials charged with providing those services. As noted in the introduction, two major concerns surfaced repeatedly: 1) the Indian population of the Twin Cities is diverse and pluralist; and 2) their problems are manageable, given a serious commitment on the part of America's leaders. Furthermore, the Federal Government has treaty obligations and statutory responsibilities to Native Americans. The predominant fear of all Indians interviewed during this project dealt with "forced assimilation." One participant in the open meeting expressed this concern quite clearly when asked how the urban life style conflicted with the Indian cultural heritage:

> I guess the primary difficulty is the fact that our Indian community would prefer to come in whole....In this community and in this country, people that have systematically tried to strip themselves of everything that is unique about them, whether they happen to be Irish, Scotch, or German, or whatever...and

> our people want to come in whole. They don't want to leave what is unique about them behind them at the borders of this community, and yet people want us to become assimilated and join that polluted mainstream and strip ourselves of everything that is unique about us, and we are not about to do that. (pp. 30-30A)

The determination to make governmental institutions open and responsive to cultural differences has grown swiftly during recent years. It is the considered judgment of the Advisory Committee that the dilemma articulated in the passage cited previously--to let people "come in whole"--will increase in significance for urban areas with large Indian populations. The chances of success would appear to be good. The problems are of manageable size; the institutions have been sensitized to cultural diversity through two decades of concentrated effort by black and brown Americans and more recently by the movement for women's rights. The full involvement of minority groups in this Nation's institutions can have a cleansing effect on the "polluted mainstream."

B. FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Based upon 6 months study by Advisory Committee members and Commission staff, including 2 days of informal hearings with a variety of persons knowledgeable about Native American experiences in education, employment, health care, and administration of justice, the Minnesota Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights reports the following findings and recommendations:

1. EMPLOYMENT

Finding 1: Native American Underrepresentation in Government Employment

At all levels of government employment in Minnesota--Federal, State, and local--when compared with the total work force, Indians hold the lower paying positions. The U.S. Civil Service Commission, which has responsibility for monitoring minority recruitment at all governmental levels, acknowledged "a continuing gulf between Indian candidates and government employees." The Civil Service Commission has no Native American employees in its Minneapolis Area Office.

Recommendation 1a:

The Advisory Committee recommends that the U.S. Civil Service Commission evaluate within 6 months the affirmative action plans of all Federal agencies as well as State and local agencies receiving Federal funds. In addition, State, county, and city agencies having corresponding responsibilities should develop similar plans.

Recommendation 1b:

The Advisory Committee recommends that the U.S. Civil Service Commission compile a list of resources for identifying Indian employment candidates and distribute this information to Federal, State, and local agencies. The services of the Bureau of Indian Affairs should be utilized in this effort.

Recommendation 1c:

The Advisory Committee recommends that the U.S. Civil Service Commission develop a training program specifically oriented to the advancement of Indians in lower paying Federal positions.

Recommendation 1d:

The Advisory Committee recommends that the U.S. Civil Service Commission establish the position of Indian Employment Specialist in the Minneapolis Area Office.

Recommendation 1e:

The Advisory Committee recommends that the Minnesota Department of Employment Services further deploy its services to reach more Indians.

Finding 2: Minneapolis Affirmative Action Program

As of June 1974 the city of Minneapolis did not have an approved affirmative action program.

Recommendation 2:

The Advisory Committee recommends that the city of Minneapolis adopt such a plan which will contain specific goals and timetables for hiring Native Americans.

Finding 3: Native American Employment and Unemployment Statistics

The Minnesota Department of Employment Services was unable to provide accurate statistics on Native American employment and unemployment.

Recommendation 3:

The Advisory Committee recommends that the Research and Planning Division of the Minnesota Department of Employment Services maintain accurate Native American unemployment and employment figures.

2. EDUCATION

Finding 1: Native American School Dropout Rate

The dropout rate for Native American students is significantly higher than for students of other races.

Recommendation 1a:

The Advisory Committee recommends that the Minneapolis Public Schools work more closely with the local alternative schools and such supplementary education programs as Indian Upward Bound. Student and staff exchange programs should be developed. An arrangement should be made to enable the Heart of the Earth Survival School to use public school building space. The Minnesota State Department of Education should also consider measures to give State accreditation to the alternative education programs.

Recommendation 1b:

The Advisory Committee recommends that the Minneapolis Public Schools' Department of Indian Education implement the Indian studies curriculum for the entire school district. Every school should be required to offer an Indian studies curriculum, with a more extensive curriculum offered at schools with large Native American enrollments.

Recommendation 1c:

The Advisory Committee recommends that Title VIII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act be refunded by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare after its expiration in 1975.

Finding 2: Recruitment of Native American Personnel

As of October 1973 Native American personnel constituted only 1.3 percent of those employed by the Minneapolis Public Schools. Despite vigorous efforts by the school district to recruit more Indian employees, especially for administrative and teaching positions, the situation has not significantly improved.

Recommendation 2a:

The Advisory Committee recommends that the Minneapolis Public Schools appoint a Native American to serve as director of Native American personnel recruitment.

Recommendation 2b:

The Advisory Committee recommends that the Minnesota State Education Department and the State Department of Civil Service devise a system whereby applicants could substitute experience for educational requirements.

Finding 3: Staff Training

As part of a State requirement for teacher recertification, the Minneapolis Public Schools provide 60 hours of human relations training for teachers. Teachers must take this program only once, regardless of how many times they are recertified. The program is supplemented by other human relations seminars and courses.

Recommendation 3:

The Advisory Committee recommends that teachers be required to take additional human relations training for every recertification. This training should go beyond the traditional classroom method, utilizing the Indian community as a primary resource.

Finding 4: Indian Education Act

Title IV of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (the Indian Education Act) provides money to the Minneapolis Public Schools for programs specifically aimed at Indian education. However, Title IV has not received its full funding from Congress. In addition, policies of the school district and of the Minneapolis Civil Service Commission regarding hiring practices often prohibit maximum participation by Indians, as intended under the law.

Recommendation 4a:

The Advisory Committee recommends that the U.S. Congress appropriate the full 235 million dollars for local education agencies as determined under the Part A appropriations formula of the Indian Education Act for fiscal year 1976.

Recommendation 4b:

The Advisory Committee recommends that the Minneapolis Civil Service Commission and the Minneapolis Public Schools reevaluate policies that conflict with the full execution of the Indian Education Act.

3. ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Finding 1: Recruitment of Native American Personnel

There were only two Native American sworn personnel on the Minneapolis police force as of January 1974.

Recommendation 1:

The Advisory Committee recommends that the Minneapolis Police Department appoint a director of minority recruitment. Responsibilities of this position should include establishing an affirmative action program and identifying resource people in the Indian community as well as in other minority communities.

Finding 2: Citizen Complaints

In the Minneapolis Police Department, the citizen complaint procedures do not provide adequate representation for the complaining citizen. Citizen complaints are handled mainly by the Internal Affairs Unit.

Recommendation 2:

The Advisory Committee recommends that the city of Minneapolis establish a review board for citizen complaints of police misconduct. This board should have broad minority representation. The board would insure that due process be provided to complainants and to accused officers. Its findings should be made public.

Finding 3: Police Training

The Police Academy curriculum includes only minimal training in Native American culture and background.

Recommendation 3:

The Advisory Committee recommends that the Minneapolis Police Department increase the number of hours devoted to this training and extend it to the inservice training program for veteran personnel. Both programs should make maximum use of Native American instructors.

Finding 4: Community Programs

Indian-oriented programs which have had a beneficial impact on the administration of justice, especially the Legal Rights Center, Inc., and the St. Paul American Indian Movement (AIM) patrol, run the risk of discontinued funding.

Recommendation 4a:

The Advisory Committee recommends that LEAA and the Governor's Crime Commission continue and increase funding for the Legal Rights Center. Funding for other Indian-oriented programs listed in this report should also receive priority.

Recommendation 4b:

The Advisory Committee recommends that the city of St. Paul fund the AIM patrol so it can continue to function now that the Wounded Knee trials are over.

4. HEALTH CARE

Finding 1: Lack of Indian Personnel in Health Care Fields

There are few Indian personnel employed by Twin Cities' hospitals and by the State of Minnesota in programs affecting Indian health. Indians are reluctant to be treated by persons insensitive to their culture.

Recommendation 1a:

The Advisory Committee recommends that the Office of Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare undertake a comprehensive review of hospital and clinic facilities in the Twin Cities under its Title VI enforcement powers, in order to evaluate their compliance in hiring Indians.

Recommendation 1b:

The Advisory Committee recommends that each hospital located within the Indian communities of the Twin Cities establish an Indian advocate position. Because of the large number of Indian patients served by Hennepin County General Hospital, it should increase the number of Indian advocates on its staff.

Recommendation 1c:

The Advisory Committee recommends that the State Authority on Alcohol and Drug Abuse continue efforts to involve Indians in its decisionmaking activities. The number of Native American staff members should be increased.

Recommendation 1d:

The Advisory Committee recommends that higher education institutions in the area make available scholarships for Native American students who wish to pursue health careers.

Finding 2: Indian Neighborhood Club on Alcohol and Drugs

This club, operated by Indians, acts as a crisis intervention center for Native Americans. Despite its important function, at the time of the open meeting in January 1974 Hennepin County had not given the center any funds.

Recommendation 2:

The Advisory Committee recommends that Hennepin County allocate funds to the Indian Neighborhood Club on Alcohol and Drugs.

Finding 3: Indian Health Board

The Indian Health Board is the first urban Indian health care facility of its kind in the country. Employing primarily Indian personnel, it is better able to attend to Indian health needs than are white-administered hospitals. However, a lack of funds and inadequate cooperation from Twin Cities area hospitals hamper the board's operation.

Recommendation 3a:

The Advisory Committee recommends that the Minnesota State Legislature, civic organizations, and private foundations consider allocating money to the Indian Health Board.

Recommendation 3b:

The Advisory Committee recommends that each hospital located in Native American neighborhoods within the Twin Cities select one administrator to serve as liaison to the Indian Health Board. Discussions should center around health care needs of the Indian community and how the traditional hospital can help in meeting these needs.

APPENDIX A

State of Minnesota Memorandum Re:

Deleting References To Formal Academic Preparation For State Employment

MEMORANDUM

): Department Heads & Personnel Officers DATE: Dec. 26, 1973

ROM: John W. Jackson, Commissioner
Department of Personnel

John W Jackson

JBJECT: Class Specifications, References to Formal Academic Preparation.

s part of this department's commitment to Affirmative Action, effective immed-
ately, all references to formal academic preparation in class specifications have
een deleted. This is being accomplished by the deletion of those sections in
ass specifications headed "Desirable Preparation for Work" or "Typically Attained
rough". I ask that you have your personnel staff delete all such sections in
ass specifications currently in your possession. This can be accomplished by
mply xeroxing the specifications with those sections blanked out. This does not
ply to the "Necessary Special Qualifications" section on class specifications
ere there are educational or experience requirements imposed by an occupational
censing board.

ass specifications are the legal base for examining, compensation, training, and
her personnel decisions affecting positions or groups of positions. In order to
sure equal employment opportunity in the state service, all of the elements of
e class specification must be clearly and directly related to the work which em-
oyees are expected to perform. Deleting references to formal academic preparation
being done in recognition of the fact that it is not possible to demonstrate a
lationship between high school or college graduation and successful job performance
ross the entire range of state positions.

e action described above is only a first step in attempting to solve a much larger
oblem. Our longer term plans in this area are to perform thorough job analyses
all state classes. The job analyses will result in strengthening the "Essential
quirements of Work" section of the specification. This section will serve as the
sis for determining appropriate selection techniques. These actions and plans
an that decisions to employ, compensate, and develop state employees will be made
the basis of job content and the resultant necessary job skills, however the skills
e acquired.

ner than the one action I outlined earlier in this memorandum, I am not asking for
y specific action on your part at this point. We will ask that your staff assist
to the extent possible in the future in the job analysis process.

APPENDIX B

Minneapolis Public Schools' "Social Studies Instruction About Native American Societies"

Social Studies Instruction about Native American Societies

I. Minneapolis Base Program - multi-media unit/pacs

Grade 4 Children compare and contrast the life-styles of the early Ojibwe and Dacotah, their use of natural resources, traditions, family structure and roles, legends, etc., in the unit Minnesota.. Past. The lack of respect for Indians' rights during the treaty period and reservation lands in Minnesota today are studied.

*Selected commercial materials and created materials include filmstrips, leaflets, wall map, fact sheets, transparencies, tapes, trade books, booklets, activity books.

Grade 5 Children study how Hopi and Navajo, Seminole, Crow, Chinook, Iroquois, Chumash people used different environments and had different cultures in the unit The New Land. They study about changes in the Indians' world as the nation expanded. They learn about contributions and roles of Indian people in the unit The Nation Grows.

Affective learnings as well as cognitive learnings promote sensitivity to and appreciation of our pluralistic society.

*Selected commercial materials and created materials include trade books, filmstrips, transparencies, leaflets, tapes, readings, maps, booklets, activity books.

Grade 6 Children study Pre-Columbian civilizations in Latin American, including an in-depth comparison of the Aztecs, Mayas, and Incas. They investigate cultural adaptation and diffusion started by Eur. exploration and exploitation in the unit Latin American History. The contemporary way of life of Latin American Indians is sampled through case studies of Peruvian, Guatemalan Amazonian people in the unit Latin America Today.

*Selected commercial materials and created materials include trade books, filmstrips, transparencies, tapes, readings, activity books.

Summary The Minneapolis base program sequences learnings about Indian people so that children study important Minn. tribes, then U.S. tribes, then L. Am. tribes - over time. Interactions between groups are investigated. Contributions and individual contributors, past and present, are studied.

II. Harcourt Brace Jovonavich Base Program - Textbook

Grade 4 Culture concepts (mainly sociology) about the Blackfeet Indians are studied. The Mohawk is surveyed.

Grade 5 Culture concepts (mainly anthropology) about the Hopi are studied.

Grade 6 Latin American Indians are mentioned briefly.

III. Supplementary Programs on the Adopted Learning Materials List:

Grades 5 & 6 Minorities Have Made America Great, Set II includes history, problems, feelings, contributions of American Indians as part of the series.

Grades 5 & 6 The American Indian: A Study in Depth includes six sound filmstrips that summarize the experiences of the Indian in America.

IV. Task Force units and materials are used in many elementary classrooms.

V. Programs and materials sent to schools in honor of American Indian Week are being used.

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